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23 December 1980

# Latin America Report

No. 2231

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## USE OF WIND CURRENTS AS ENERGY SOURCE EXAMINED

Montevideo EL PAIS in Spanish 19 Oct 80 p 12

[Text] "Uruguay has a potential resource in its winds, and if the day arrives when it is possible to harness them by means of modern prototypes (windmills) now being manufactured by highly industrialized countries they would generate a volume of energy six times greater than the yearly average output of the hydroelectric power plants of Salto Grande, i.e., the 50 percent produced for our country; Gabriel Terra; Baygorria; and Palmar combined."

This statement was made to EL PAIS by authorized officials who are making a study of this subject. They provided a series of data and illustrative documentation which describe the enormous prospects offered to Uruguay by wind currents as a generative source of energy.

### Feasibility Studies

Feasibility studies on the use of wind energy in the country go back to the beginning of the 1960's when the topic was included in the plans of the CIDE (Intergovernmental Commission for Economic Development). At that time, when the possibility of manufacturing windmills with a generating capability of 2,000 kw was unheard of in the world, a wind survey was made of the entire national territory, which today is quite valid.

According to our sources, Uruguay, thanks to that survey, is the only country in the world which has a complete map with the wind variables in all the different regions.

But even more noteworthy than this advantage is the determination in the 1960s that the entire Uruguayan coast, which runs from Colonia to the Brazilian border on the Atlantic, has practically constant winds, ranging between 7 to 8 meters per second. Such wind force is unequaled in the world, except for countries in northern Europe; e.g., Denmark, Sweden and England.

### Windmills: A Long Tradition

In our country, the use of windmills for the generation of electric energy is nothing new, particularly in the interior of the republic, where some years ago the peak was reached. After that, because of the extension of the national electric network and the low cost of fuels (1963-1974) the use of windmills was practically abandoned.

In fact, the technicians consulted said that the studies conducted by the CIDE in 1961 and corroborated by the balance sheet prepared by the ANCAP [National Fuels, Alcohol and Cement Administration] that same year, show that the energy supplied by windmills at that time was similar to the energy of the diesel plants of the UTE [General Administration of State Electric Power and Telephones].

On the ANCAP balance sheet, windmills represented on-fifth of the hydroelectric energy in 1961; and of the total annual energy consumption in 1974, which totaled 2,200 equivalent tons of oil, windmills supplied 68,000 tons [as published].

Oil Crisis: Modern Windmills

With the increases in crude oil prices which began to appear in 1974, the highly industrialized countries started to study the feasibility of alternative sources of energy. At that point, the advances of the technological age caught up with the windmills. On the basis of prototypes with a generating capability of 50 kw, there was planning for and installing of enormous turbines suspended in high towers which, as in the case of the American MOD-1, generated 2,000 kw.

The first big windmill was constructed in Denmark, at the University of Tvinds, 5 kilometers from the town of Ulfborg. This windmill has a 54-meter high tower and was designed and built by the professors and students of this university in a 6-month period and was placed in operation in 1976. The approximate cost of the windmill was $1 million.

NASA Prototype

The U.S. Government, for its part, made NASA responsible for the feasibility study on the harnessing of wind energy, which resulted in the construction of a series of experimental prototypes over a 2-year period. The largest of these windmills was installed in Boone,North Carolina, at a cost of $3 million. It is built on a 43-meter high tower, has one rotor (with two shafts) which is 67 meters in diameter and generates 2,000 kw at a cost of $.08 per kw/hour. This will be reduced to $.03 when the prototype is produced in quantities.

Our sources said that if a windmill with these characteristics were to be installed in Uruguay, its production would be 7 million kw/hours per year.

8143
CSO: 3010

EL SALVADOR-HONDURAS PEACE SEEN ENCOURAGING REGIONAL UNITY

Guatemala City EL IMPARCIAL in Spanish 23 Oct 80 p 2

[Editorial: "Promises of Peace for Central America]

[Text] To a large extent, disunity is the principal cause of the misfortune of Central America, aggravated by fruitless locally oriented struggles which have run against the interests of the isthmus and failed to heed the advice to integrate from the economic authorities as well as aspirations of a civic and cultural order by significant sectors of public opinion aware that unity is the only destiny of our peoples and, while they await a propitious time to restore political unity, they believe that useful and indispensable integration-oriented plans, programs, and organs, whose effectiveness, even though partial, is undeniable.

Despite the political vicissitudes and sporadic quarrels which are unavoidable among neighbors--because we Central Americans live as if we were families in an ecological neighborhood--the practical manifestations of integration have yielded good results and convinced the most skeptical individuals, including various types of pessimists. It is for this reason that stress is placed on salvaging the Central American Common Market as one of the points of confluence of everyone's interests and of each of the states of the region. The ideal would be that our leaders take to heart the orientation of such joint effort to revitalize a process which is irreversible from all viewpoints, without relinquishing discussion or effecting the changes dictated by existing circumstances.

A disturbing element has undoubtedly been the so-called "dispute" between the republics of Honduras and El Salvador which for 11 years has maintained the break in diplomatic and trade relations between the two countries with significant damage to the integration-oriented plan that had just been developing. Another blow was the Nicaraguan crisis, halting land communications, hindering the supply of raw materials and intraregional exports, isolating or impeding access to some areas, and paralyzing or delaying traffic.

Nevertheless, there is hope that in the end the conflict between the two Morazan-oriented [After Honduran Gen Francisco Morazan who had urged the unity of Honduras and El Salvador] states, as Honduras and El Salvador have been called, will be solved. Besides the fact that they are neighbors, these two countries have had a tradition of brotherhood and intense cultural and socioeconomic interchange. The first effective step toward the normalization of their relations was to submit their dispute to mediation by a committee chaired by Dr Jose Luis Bustamente y Rivero, former president of Peru and a jurist of international reputation.

The measures taken by the mediator have also been slow, but eventually an effective system was found, namely, to screen the field, separating superficial or less important questions and in particular those for which it was felt that it was easier to achieve a reconciliation of both sides. Even though these were procedural, they made easier the path for the negotiation of more important matters or those needing previous clarification.

The Salvadoran minister of foreign affairs, Fidel Chavez Mena, paid a protocol visit to Tegucigalpa, Honduras, as if to break the ice, and both his personal posture and the manner in which he was received by the Honduran authorities were marked by extreme cordiality. And now, under similar conditions, the Honduran minister of foreign affairs, Cesar Elvir Sierra, is in San Salvador paying a visit to his Salvadoran opposite number. In both cases it was also possible to observe in public opinion an attitude favorable to good understanding.

It was announced through a joint communique in Tegucigalpa on the occasion of the visit of the Salvadoran foreign minister that on 30 October 1980 there will be signed in the Peruvian capital the peace treaty which is being finalized in San Salvador, in a last working session of the national commissions of both countries chaired by the respective ministers of foreign affairs. It seems that there was also an exchange of viewpoints between the Honduran foreign minister and the civilian-military government junta of El Salvador.

It is believed that the "dispute" between the two Morazan-oriented countries as well as the Nicaraguan political crisis and some deviations in Costa Rican policy weakened regional cohesion and for that reason it is hoped that the restoration of relations between Honduras and El Salvador will be an effective step toward a united expression of the peoples of the isthmus to unify the examination and solution of our problems. At this time, there is no point to lamentations about what has been lost or recriminations for misdeeds. It is more profitable to outline plans for the future, setting aside or forgetting misunderstandings and pointless jealousies in order to clear the field and spend time on a clear-sighted consolidation of goals whose realization would be helped by a climate of sincerely restored brotherhood.

2662
CSO: 3010

PRESIDENT-ELECT STUDIES NEW MINISTRIES LAW PROPOSALS

Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 4 Nov 80 p 4

[Article by Enrique Bugatti: "The Ministries Law"]

[Text] According to predictions made by the authorities, during the next few days the president-elect, Lt General Viola, will notify them of his decision regarding the ministries that will back his administration.

After that, the Secretariat of Planning (headed by Brig Gen Jose Miret) will be required to study and draft the final text dealing with the jurisdiction of the new table of organization for ministries, so that it may be approved by the president-elect, submitted to the CAL [Legislative Advisory Commission] and, finally, confirmed, so as to be ready by March of next year.

The matter of changing the structure of the ministries is nothing new. It was brought up in 1977, when the current president was confirmed in office; but at that time it was thought that any change, with its resultant period of readjustment and experimentation, would damage the pace already established within the government, causing an unnecessary hiatus.

Now, after the designation of Lt General Viola, the Military Junta, with the government guidelines for the next 3 years, submitted to him the studies on alternate versions of a new ministries law, so that he might approve one of them, for purposes of final approval.

Division

The very existence of the studies that have been made, undertaken by the Secretariat of Planning, implies the decision of the highest authority to sponsor a change in the current structure of the ministries.

In this connection, it has reportedly been agreed to divide the Ministry of Economy, and to reduce the Ministry of Social Welfare.

The ministries could apparently amount to 10 or 11 because, although the Ministry of Economy would be eliminated, Ministries of Finance, Public Works and Services, and even Production would be created, the latter to include the activities which generate national wealth; while the Ministry of Social Welfare would be confined to Social Security and Public Health.

As has been noted, the last word in this regard will come from the future president, inasmuch as the reform is intended to be the instrument placed in his hands for the implementation of the guidelines issued by the Military Junta.

The studies that have been made are summarized in a voluminous file held by Lt General Viola, including items ranging from the plan for seven ministries (described as a "rational model") to another for 12 ministries.

As the ministries increase, the number of state secretariats decreases, and vice versa, as the ministries decrease, the number of the latter increases.

The criterion on which the study is based is that of subsidiary status, and the state's functions are determined according to that principle, which has been constantly cited by the present authorities.

To be sure, the matter entailed long studies and a report to the National Cabinet from the secretary of planning. Nevertheless, no debate was started on the change, so as to avoid the traditional support for the maintenance of certain areas of influence within the group as a whole. In any event, it is known that the current economic leadership is not in favor of reforms.

When Lt General Viola's awaited decision is made, there will be interministerial meetings to evaluate the possible divisions stemming from the final decision.

Constitution

The Constitution of 1853 set the number of ministries at eight to provide for "handling the nation's business;" while the constitutions of most countries do not refer to any number.

This was stipulated in the reform of the National Constitution which was enacted in 1972, with inconsistent application.

Based upon its status as a "tool," the ministries law in most countries is applied in accordance with the circumstances that occur, with ministries appearing and disappearing, as certain demands of a political, economic, social, cultural or other type arise and are eliminated.

While the future president decides on the types of ministry organization that he will adopt for his government service, he is talking with individuals associated with all fields, who are contributing their experience on matters that are essential to the nation.

But although the present authorities are expecting Viola's decision as soon as possible, so as to progress in the final materialization of the experiment in question, to the new president that decision will represent an increase in the expectations regarding his administration.

Because when the new table of organization has been established, everyone will want to know when and with whom the slots allocated for the heads of each ministry will be filled.
2909
CSO: 3010

NEW CGT DIVIDES LABOR SECTOR

Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 10 Nov 80 p 9

[Article by Claudio Polosecki: "A Partialized CGT"]

[Text] Last Friday, for the second time in little over a month, the reformation of the General Labor Confederation [CGT] as a new leadership for the trade union sector was announced.

This time, however, unlike the first occasion when the three leading sectors of the labor movement at present were involved in the announcement, the assumption of the traditional initials of the labor confederation was made by only one of these movements, accompanied by indifference on the part of the other two.

The fact that, to date, there has been no formal publication of the list of organizations that actually belong to the new CGT, and that the organizational structure and administration that this association will have are not known, precludes making certain assessments of the fate that this new attempt may have.

On the other hand, it can be clearly perceived that, on the basis of the participation of two teams of Peronist trade unionists in the political dialog, despite the party ban made public, and the launching of the new CGT, the deepseated division of the labor movement into two definite sectors has been formally established.

The '25'

The first sector, which has now been formed around the initials CGT, consists mainly of unions affiliated with the "Commission of 25," espousing the "hardest" positions in the labor movement, to which have been added those involved in the "dissident vertical movement" which broke off from the CNT [National Labor Commission] and an as yet undetermined number of members of the "Commission of 20."

These organizations took advantage of the political crisis started within the labor movement as a result of the CNT's participation in the political dialog to assume the many sectorial grievances of the labor movement and, through the reformation of the CGT, to devise a strategy in overt opposition to the government's policy, clearly dissociated from that sponsored by the "moderate" sector.

This stand has the certain support of most of the CGT's Regional Delegations set up in the interior of the country and Greater Buenos Aires, as well as of the Peronist

Trade Union Groups and the "organic" sector of the Justicialist Party. On the other hand, the formation of the new CGT will surely pose greater problems than the determination of its political identity; because there are many organizations in which the internal opinions regarding the overall action of the labor movement are also divided.

For example, it is not yet known what position will be assumed by some members of the "Commission of 20," such as the one for insurance, the representative for which, Ramon Valle, was a member of the first team of trade unionists to attend the political dialog, or by the municipal representatives, whose leader, Geronimo Izzetta, also accepted the invitation, although he did not attend.

The situation is even more complicated in large organizations in which there has been intervention, such as the light and power, and textile workers unions, which belong to CNT organically, although some of their leaders are said to be affiliated with the new CGT.

In the Other Corner

In the other corner of the trade union rectangle, there is the "moderate" sector, led by the organizations grouped in CNT, with which, in fact, most of the unions without intervention affiliated with the "Commission of 20" tacitly agree.

This sector,which attempted to cope with the crisis triggered by its participation in the political dialog by calling upon the other groups, until the last minute, to bring about trade union unity, does not propose, for the present to compete with the "hard-liners" for the use of the initials CGT, whose rebirth, announced by "the 25," they regard as "insignificant."

The "moderates," on the other hand, are hastening the attempt to strengthen their internal unity, while preparing to try to influence the process of normalizing the organizations in which there has been intervention.

Attaching little importance to the risks of a confrontation with the "hardliners" in the political area, one of the CGT's top-ranking leaders stated this weekend that "just after the normalization, we shall know who is who."

The '62'

However, the diagnosis of the future is quite different in the eyes of the "hard-liners" who, anticipating the beginning of a "more political" phase in the military process,were preparing to launch, immediately after the CGT's announcement, the establishment of a new board consisting of the "62 Peronist Trade Union Organizations," as a means of participating actively in the trade union and partisan ideological dispute.

The rebirth of the traditional "trade union branch" of the Justicialist movement would enable this sector, in addition, to become involved in the active work of directing a large number of traditional labor leaders who, for various reasons, are dissociated from their organization, such as Lorenzo Miguel, Rogelio Papagno, Diego Ibanez, Jose Baez, Juan Jose Taccone, Jose Garcia, Eleuterio Cardozo and others who agree with the strategy of the "hard-liners."
2909
CSO: 3010

## PUBLIC SECTOR DEBT CONTINUES TO RISE

Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 12 Nov 80 p 13

[Text] The state enterprises have again become one of the leading demanders of money on the financial market, taking over $150 million in one week.

Between 6 and 13 November, seven public enterprises plan to demand 296.5 billion pesos, for periods fluctuating from 90 to 360 days. That figure does not include the transactions made commercially, with the banking system. It involves loans to meet development requirements.

The main payee, accounting for nearly a quarter of the total, is SEGBA [Greater Buenos Aires Electrical Services], with 69 billion pesos. It is followed in order of importance by Government Coal Deposits (YCF), with 46.6 billion; in third place, the Salto Grande Joint Technical Commission, which received 42.912 billion pesos yesterday; and next, Water and Electric Power, which requested funds amounting to 40 billion pesos.

The fifth enterprise, in descending order, was Argentine Railroads which, in a single bid, assumed debts totaling 37.1 billion pesos for a period of 6 months; followed by the National Atomic Energy Commission, which absorbed 30.9 billion yesterday; and, finally, Government Oil Deposits, with 30 billion pesos.

### Operation Method

Since mid-October, this method of operation on the part of public enterprises has become customary.

This method is reportedly based on instructions issued by the Palace of Finance, aimed at temporarily suspending the foreign debt and resolving the immediate financial needs on the local market.

During the week of 14-21 October, the state enterprises took in $30 million on the domestic market. The following week, the figure was repeated.

Drawing attention were the large amounts requested by SEGBA which totaled $82 million between 30 October and yesterday. YPF, for its part, received over $30 million during the past 3 weeks. In this regard, it should be recalled that, as of 30 June, the public enterprises' internal debt totaled nearly $1.4 billion, threatening to end the fiscal year at a considerably higher level.
2909
CSO: 3010

## TRACTOR INDUSTRY REPORTEDLY TO UNDERGO MAJOR CHANGES

Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 12 Nov 80 p 17

[Text] The revamping of the current system for the tractor industry and its future prospects were analyzed yesterday at the Palace of Finance, for the purpose of drafting a report which Minister Jose Alfredo Martinez de Hoz is reportedly to submit to President Jorge Rafael Videla within a few hours.

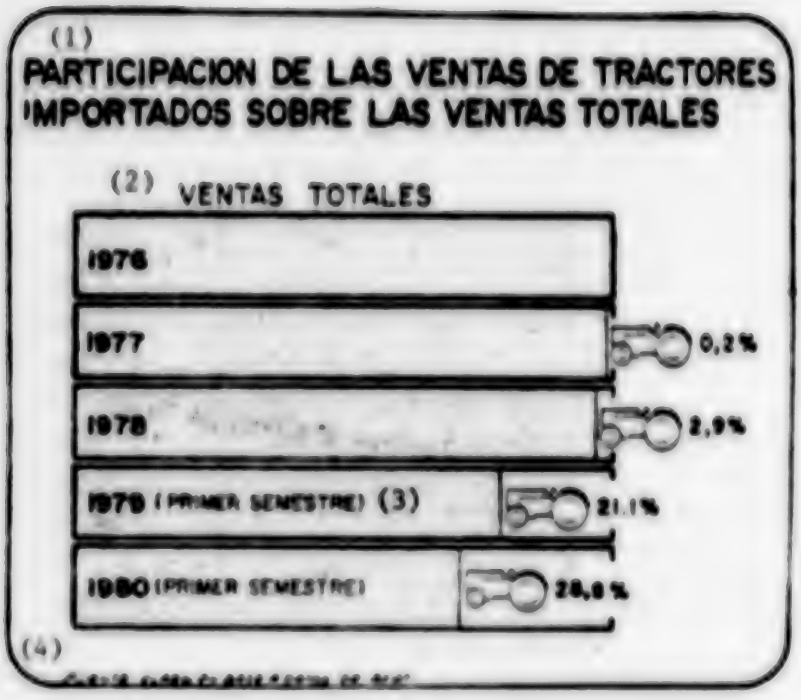
The status of this sector was discussed during a meeting led by Martinez de Hoz, in which the state secretary of economic programing and coordination, Guillermo Walter Klein; the state secretary of international trade and economic negotiations, Alejandro Estrada; and the state secretary of industrial development, Alberto Grimoldi, participated, as did other officials and advisers from the economic area.

On this occasion, there was, basically, an analysis of a plan devised by the secretariat of industrial development, whereby the present system for the tractor industry which, according to the original text, was to expire on 31 December of this year, would be extended until 1984.

Changes

However, certain major changes were reportedly included, such as the increase in the number of parts that may be imported duty-free from the current 15 percent to 20 or 25 percent; and also the repeal of the article which flatly bans the importing of the respective assembled motors.

During the course of the talks, there was also an analysis of matters relating to the future of the sector, and the mechanisms leading to a kind of "reconversion system" which would spur on the merger among the various factories established in the country.




In addition to the shrinking of the tractor market, during recent years there has been evidence of a growing presence of imports.

Key:

1. Share of Sales of Imported Tractors in the Total Sales
2. Total Sales
3. First Half
4. Source: CLARIN, based on data from AFAT

2909
CSO: 3010

DEUTZ FIRM ANNOUNCES IMPENDING SHUTDOWN

Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 6 Nov 80 p 19

[Text] Yesterday, the president of the Deutz Argentina firm, Ernesto Schwarzboeck, gave CLARIN confirmation that the shutdown of the plant's production announced for the end of the year is an "irreversible" measure.

However, he said that the decision would be of a "temporary" nature, since "the factory is being frozen in order to ascertain whether the country's economic policy is going to change."

Schwarzboeck declared: "Obviously, the conditions are not present in Argentina now for a tractor industry;" adding that "huge amounts of money would be required to cover Deutz's monthly losses."

With regard to rumors that a delegation of businessmen from the home office, located in the Federal Republic of Germany, would be arriving in the country, the high-ranking executive explained that they were "specialists in spare parts who by no means constitute a delegation to negotiate an alternative other than the closing in Argentina; because there is nothing to negotiate."

The statement resulted from the exchange of individual wires sent by the Deutz workers and the heads of the Moron mechanics' union to the local administrative board of the firm and to the German ambassador to Argentina, demanding a meeting with the individuals sent from the home office.

'Freeze'

The president of Deutz Argentina said that the "freeze" on the plant, located in Haedo, entails keeping "all the machinery oiled and all the equipment (currently operated by about 800 persons) in good condition."

Starting in January 1981, the firm will engage in importing and marketing tractors, farm machinery and diesel engines within the country, for which (Schwarzboeck added) it will keep between 60 and 80 individuals employed.

At the time of full production, Deutz was also engaged in manufacturing diesel engines, which met part of the requirements of the Ford and Chrysler automobile companies.

The businessman also remarked that, last week, some 40 of the 94 workers who had recently been laid off were rehired, a measure which caused the plant to be occupied for 4 days by part of the total personnel.

When asked about this, spokesmen from the mechanics' union confirmed the number of those rehired, explaining that the rest had decided to leave the company.

At the same time, they added that they were willing to talk about the problem with "whoever comes from Germany, whether they be company executives or specialists."

2909
CSO: 3010

FOREIGN AUTO MAKERS NOT OPTIMISTIC ABOUT INDUSTRY'S RECOVERY

Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 12 Nov 80 p 11

[Text] "We have decided on a drastic resizing of our industrial presence in Argentina, and will engage solely in marketing activities, starting in 1981," declared the president of Fiat, Giovanni Agnelli, in Turin yesterday during the stockholders' meeting at which it was decided to raise the company's capital from $185 to $378 million, according to a cable from the Italian news agency ANSA [National Associated Press Agency].

Giovanni Agnelli claimed that "similar decisions" concerning a reduction in industrial activities in Argentina "have been made by the leading multinationals operating in that country."

Difficulties

The businessman stressed that Fiat Diesel Argentina faced difficulties because of the "severe decline in domestic demand," and "the sizable burden of financial costs, which range from 80 to 100 percent per year."

Giovanni Agnelli also remarked that, "In Argentina, the merger between our firm and the local branch of Peugeot, the new Sevel company, which is currently operating on a par, and which has moderate prospects for income return, has just taken place."

Sevel

It should be noted that Sevel Argentina, Inc (European Vehicle Company for Latin America) expects to start producing new models in the middle of next year.

A few days ago, Sevel's board members stated that, to achieve "operative status," the firm would need some time in order to become effective. They claimed that this operative status entails, among many other matters, the decision as to the models that are to be produced.

Brazil

In commenting on Brazil, the head of Fiat, Giovanni Agnelli, maintained that, "The situation in that country appears to be improved from an industrial and marketing standpoint."

According to the ANSA account, the Italian businessman stressed: "Our companies show positive operational results, although the burden of the financial costs, which are also very high in Brazil, has caused the overall economic balance to prove negative."

In conclusion, Agnelli told the stockholders' meeting that, "Major financial contributions have been decided upon to refinance the structure of the assets, and to allow for the transition toward a positive income return."

2909
CSO: 3010

MINISTER URGES UNITY TO COUNTER THREATS TO INDEPENDENCE

Belize City THE BELIZE SUNDAY TIMES in English 23 Nov 80 p 11

[Text]

Minister of Natural Resources, Florencio Marin, says the enemies of Belize have tried many tactics to disrupt and divert the orderly progress of Belize to nationhood.

Speaking in Dangriga last Sunday at the opening of the Stann Creek District Agricultural Fair, Marin said agents in our midst have actively promoted Guatemala's claim to Belizean territory.

"Judas has many modern counterparts" he said, "yet others seek to label any action by Government of which they disapprove as the work of Communists within the Government."

Minister Marin went on to say that the measure of activity achieved by these "agent provocateurs" in dividing the people against themselves, at a time when they should be uniting more than ever is shown by the recent formation by a group in Belize City of an anti-communist association.

Minister Marin said that such a move can only please the military in Guatemala. For, Guatemala too has a secret anti-communist army which, according to the latest edition of the British magazine THE ECONOMIST, has published a list of journalists, academics, lawyers, clerics, opposition politicians, teachers and peasant and union leaders who are to be eliminated.

A leader of the Secret Anti-Communist Army of Guatemala made the following statement: They stamped out communism in Uruguay, Argentina and Chile by destroying the left wing organizations and by God we'll do it here if we have to kill 500,000 people."

Minister Marin recalled that last May, on Labour Day, he warned of the dangers of crying communism at every turn of events. He said then that th ose who do so,may whether kno wingly or not bring about the very conditions which they claim to seek to avoid.

Marin said in Dangriga last Sunday that"a house divided against itself will fall; this is the objective of ou r enemies, to sow the seeds of discord, to break down the solidarity which has led us so well to the brink of independence.

He called on Belizeans to stand firm for Belize, to stand firm for a sovereign independent Belize, with a democratically elected Government, with a Government which has proved itself over the years as having the best interests of the people of Belize as its "raison d'etre", and pay no head to the lackeys of our enemies.

CSO: 3020

## BRIEFS

AMBASSADORS' CREDENTIALS--Bogota--The new extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassadors of Venezuela and the Dominican Republic, Pedro Contreras Pulido and Amauri Gaitan Herrero, respectively, presented their credentials to President Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala today. [PA142213 Bogota Domestic Service in Spanish 1730 GMT 11 Dec 80]

SCIENTIFIC AGREEMENT--Bogota --President Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala has sanctioned a law approving an agreement between Colombia and Argentina on cooperation in the areas of scientific research and technological development. Under the agreement, both parties agree to cooperate in the exchange of scientific and technological information, the training of scientists and research personnel, the joint or coordinated undertaking of research or development programs, the use of scientific and technical installations and plants, and the creation and operation of research, test and experimental production institutions. They will also cooperate as much as possible on the appointment of experts and in the purchase of the necessary materials and equipment. [Bogota Domestic Service in Spanish 1730 GMT 9 Dec 80 PA]

CROP DAMAGE--Bogota--The Colombian Agricultural and Livestock Institute has reported that this morning's frost in the Bogota savannah has damaged at least 40 percent of the potato and approximately 60 percent of the vegetable and bean crops. The meteorological institute has reported that this morning's frost, during minus-4 degree weather, is the second this month. [Bogota Radio Sutatenza Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 12 Dec 80 PA]

MARITIME DISCUSSION POSTPONED--A plenum of the Chamber of Representatives has postponed indefinitely the debate on the Colombian-Venezuelan dispute on the limitation of marine and underwater areas. The chamber's decision was in reply to the proposal made by congressmen Fernando Rico and Alberto Casas Santamaria, who thought it was not the proper time to discuss the matter and said that President Turbay Ayala has sufficient autonomy to handle the negotiations. The proposal caused a heated debate among the congressmen and an irate protest on the part of Ospino-Pastrana Representative Alvaro Leiva Duran, who presented the proposal. It was learned that the proposal for the postponement came from high government circles in order not to hamper any talks the Colombian and Venezuelan presidents may have in Santa Marta on 17 December during the commemoration of the 150th anniversary of liberator Simon Bolivar's death. [Text] [PA120238 Bogota Radio Sutatenza Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 11 Dec 80]

CSO: 3010

## FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS, ACTIVITIES DESCRIBED

### Rafael Rodriguez Interview

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 30 Nov 80 pp 2-3

[Interview with Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba and vice-president of the Councils of State and of Ministers, date and place not given]

[Text] Proletarian internationalism is the essence of the Communist Party of Cuba's international policy, its point of departure. On the eve of the 2nd Congress of the Party, can you say something about the 1st Congress resolutions and how they have been carried out?

In this respect, I would like to say that the 1st Congress Resolution on International Policy is based on a very clear, concrete concept of proletarian internationalism. This concept is summed up as follows: "Cuba, carrying out its foreign policy, subordinates its interests to the general interests of the victory of socialism and communism, of national liberation of the peoples, to the purposes of defeating imperialism and eliminating colonialism, neocolonialism and all forms of exploitation and discrimination of men and peoples." I believe that in the period that has transpired since the 1st Congress, the whole international policy of the Party and the state organs, under the Party's guidance, has been aimed at fulfilling this basic directive.

Of course, this policy is expressed in many different ways on the international scene. Fundamental to that policy is the defense of peace. Today, peace is the supreme interest of all the peoples. Without peace there can be no development; without peace there can be no national independence; and without peace, socialism is under constant threat. This is why, in keeping with the 1st Congress guidelines, Cuba's international policy has been directed toward helping prevent nuclear war; cut back on strategic arms; and support to the full the SALT-II agreements, denouncing those who try to sabotage them. We have also made every possible effort to promote the policy of détente, which has been under constant threat in the last few years, as there has been more and more persistent action on the part of forces bent on a policy of military superiority and the arms race — which would carry the world again to the brink of war — in the place of détente.

The second permanent element in our foreign policy in applying the aforementioned principles was taken up by the 1st Congress when it ratified its support "for the peoples resisting imperialist aggression and oppression" and proclaimed that "the struggle of each and every one of them is our own struggle."

In pursuing this policy, Cuba is active simultaneously as a member of the socialist community and of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We consider that both work in the same direction in the international arena and that there is no possible contradiction between our activities as a non-aligned country and our activities as a member of the socialist community.

We believe that a main role in the struggle for peace and for people's rights lies with the Soviet Union, not only because it was the first country in the world to establish socialism but also because its influence on international policy, given its history, its economic power and its military potential, makes it a significant, lasting power no one can overlook.

The 1st Congress proclaimed the "unbreakable alliance which unites the Parties, the peoples, the states and the governments of Cuba and the Soviet Union." That alliance is a permanent element in our international policy. This doesn't necessarily mean that we coincide absolutely in our views on each of the problems of international life, for Cuba and the Soviet Union operate in different geographical regions and are at very differing stages of economic development. But that alliance does mean that nobody, that nothing can make us, either directly or indirectly, add grist to the mill of anti-Sovietism. We believe that the existence of socialism and, above all, the Soviet Union, is the best guarantee for peace, plus an essential factor of solidarity for peoples in their struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism.

To what extent has it been possible to carry out 1st Congress directives regarding Cuba's assistance to other peoples?

As you will recall, at the time of the 1st Congress Cuba was involved in the struggle to help Angola defend its territory and its Revolution against the attacks from the north and from the south and, above all, against the threat of the South African troops presence in Angolan territory. Cuba fulfilled, in an exemplary albeit modest fashion, that internationalist commitment. Later, a similar situation arose when Mengistu Haile Mariam, president of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Ethiopia, requested aid to fight back the Somali invasion of the Ogaden. Cuba is known to have also done its duty in that internationalist task.

However, Cuba's collaboration is not expressed solely or chiefly in the form of military presence. Cuba would prefer, and is always making this clear, that it were never necessary to risk the lives of any of its fighters defending the rights of another people under threat. Unfortunately, this desire is undermined by those using military force to attack other peoples. Cuba's internationalism is expressed mainly, above all, through aid in the form of technical and scientific assistance and direct participation in constructive activities in friendly countries. In this sense, as the 2nd Congress of the Party approaches, we

can say with certainty that Cuba is collaborating in diverse ways with more than 37 countries and that some 15 000 people are involved. The most important part of this collaboration is provided free of charge to sister nations which, because they are in the early stages of development, or because they lack economic resources, are only able to give us minimal economic compensation for the collaboration we give. There are other cases, of countries of greater wealth or countries that have reached a higher level of development, where we are compensated for this collaboration, always taking into account the varying possibilities of the countries in question.

**What has been Cuba's role as chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries?**

Cuba's first great task on becoming chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries was to hold the 6th Summit Conference. An unbiased review of the event serves to show all the efforts made by our country and Comrade Fidel Castro as chairman of the Summit to overcome, in the course of the Summit, the many obstacles aimed at disrupting the unity of the Non-Aligned Movement. The consolidation of that unity and the reaffirmation of the Movement's anti-imperialist character were, in our opinion, the two main results of the Summit. It was during that gathering of the non-aligned that a series of agreements were able to be reached on the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid and on the efforts to ensure that the prevailing international policy of the Movement not be a bloc-oriented one — which is simply the product of the fundamental contradictions that today throw the forces of socialism and the forces of imperialism against each other on the world scene.

Since the 6th Summit Conference was held, Cuba has continued to promote the activities and program of the Non-Aligned Movement in various international forums. For example, in the UN Special General Assembly, where the world's great economic problems were discussed and particular emphasis was placed on the struggle for the New International Economic Order, and in the 34th UN session, in which, according to the rundown that was made, the Movement was one of the session's most positive factors.

In the Special Assembly, the efforts made by Comrade Fidel Castro to promote the economic interests of the underdeveloped and developing countries, in the struggle for a New International Economic Order and to eliminate the existing inequality in international economic relations, were outstanding. His speech at the UN won unanimous praise as a creative and constructive statement serving as a platform for solving the great problems in this regard that today affect the international community. Fidel Castro raised the voice of the non-aligned beyond every ideological, political and social barrier and outlined a program that, if put into effect, could contribute to peace, to development and to mitigating the crisis the world economy is going through today. His proposal to the effect that the developing countries be granted over the next 20 years no less than 300 000 million dollars, in addition to the financial assistance they are being given now, drew international attention and met with support in all circles.

As chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Cuba has also had to be very active in playing the role that befalls it in trying to avert internal conflicts between member countries of the Movement. In this respect, it has mediated in the differences between Malta and Libya and in the problems between the People's Democratic Republic of Guinea and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and, more recently, has concentrated its efforts in playing a constructive role in the efforts to achieve a cease-fire and the start of negotiations between Iraq and Iran. Neither can we overlook Cuba's activities directed toward coming up with a political solution for the situation that has been created in Southwest Asia and particularly in Afghanistan.

In your opinion, what is the outlook for Cuba-U.S. relations?

This is perhaps the most difficult moment to predict the immediate outlook for relations between Cuba and the United States.

No one can deny that Reagan's election has raised new questions in the old differences between our two countries. If we were to take into account only the views expressed by Reagan during the pre-election campaign and the Republican platform's approach to the Latin American problem, all we would be able to do would be to prepare ourselves for new and harder confrontations. But this is no time for predictions, especially when the Cuban problem is one of a broader, more complex international scope and a source of concern for analysts and leaders everywhere, because what is at stake is a trend toward a war of devastation, or again taking up the road to détente.

• All I would like to say, therefore, in answer to your question is that Cuba continues to take the positions expressed by Comrade Fidel Castro in the 1st Congress of the Party. It is not part of Cuba's foreign policy to be permanently hostile to any of our neighbors, but, at the same time, Cuba stands firm in its principle that the blockade has to be eliminated for there to be official talks with the United States. And there's no doubt that our 2nd Congress will reiterate that position.

## Foreign Aid Noted

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 30 Nov 80 pp 4-5

[Text] People's Republic of the Congo

Near the lake known as Saturn's Ring, on a plateau covering 6000 square kilometers, Cuban technicians are helping to develop the dairy industry of the People's Republic of the Congo.

The joint project dates back to the time when late President Marien Ngouabi, accompanied by Fidel, visited the cattle-raising project in Matanzas, east of Havana.

The first step in the Cuban-Congolese project was to ship 90 holstein heifers and five holstein breeding bulls, along with agricultural machinery and grass seed. In view of the successful results obtained, in 1979 a shipment of Santa Gertrudis, jersey, zebu and Brown Swiss, was sent to the Congo. The results in crossings, adaptation to climate and pasture growing have been excellent.

Pictured is Sercido Rangel Capote, head of the team of Cuban livestock experts, that has been working in the Congo for 14 months contributing to the development of beef- and milk-producing cattle.

Another example of Cuban-Congolese cooperation was the installation of a Sandino-type prefabricated sections plant donated by Cuba, whose production capacity will make possible the construction of 500 houses a year. Cuban specialists were also sent to train the Congolese, in running the plant and in house construction. the first apartment houses, like the ones in the photo, started going up in September 1979.

## Nicaragua

● WHEN THE Sandinista Revolution triumphed after long years of heroic struggle against the Somoza dynasty, 60 percent of the three million inhabitants of Nicaragua didn't know how to read or write.

One of the first steps taken by the victorious Revolution was to undertake a nationwide literacy campaign with the ambitious goal of wiping out illiteracy within a year.

As soon as the news of the campaign got around in Cuba, a call for experienced volunteer teachers was made and 25 500 teachers offered to go help our Nicaraguan brothers and sisters.

In the first stage of the literacy campaign, 1200 young Cuban teachers were sent to Nicaragua.

In September, in the second and last stage of the campaign, another 2000 teachers will be sent to the sister nation, where they will work in the most remote areas of a country covering 127 000 square kilometers to contribute to the noble goal of declaring Nicaragua the second country free of illiteracy in Latin America.

The internationalist aid given by Cuba to Nicaragua also covers the field of medicine: 250 Cuban doctors and health personnel have been working in Nicaragua for several months. The photo shows Cuban doctor Nilda Véliz, aided by a Cuban nurse and a Nicaraguan nurse, conducting an operation in the hospital at Ocotal, near the border with Honduras.

## Ethiopia

● CUBAN MEDICAL collaboration with Ethiopia has been in effect without interruption for three years. It began in July 1977 with a team of 32 doctors, nurses and technicians and has grown to a veritable army of 300 men and women dedicated to improving the health of the Ethiopian people.

The first Cuban medical team worked in the regions of Gondar, in the northwestern part of the country, and in Sidamo, in the south.

In those days the Ethiopian people had just overthrown the feudal regime and were taking the first, difficult steps in a people's revolution. Conditions in general were miserable, particularly in the field of public health, and were aggravated by the advance of the invading forces from Somalia, which were finally repulsed in 1978.

According to data furnished by the World Health Organization in 1976, the results of feudal domination were as follows:

- Ninety-eight percent of the population (estimated at 30 million) consumed water obtained from unhealthy sources, with the inevitable results of parasitic illnesses.
- Seventy-five percent of the territory was invaded by malaria.
- Almost five percent of the population was affected by tuberculosis and about one percent were the victims of leprosy.
- Five percent of the children under seven were carriers of yellow fever.
- Over 60 percent of the children between one and three were malnourished.
- More than 40 percent of the population had to make long trips in order to reach the nearest medical center, and only 15 percent went to a doctor once a year.
- In 1976 Ethiopia, a country with a land area of 1 225 000 square kilometers, had only 84 hospitals, with a total of 8000 beds. About 45 percent of these hospitals were located in the cities of Addis Ababa, Asmara and Harar.
- There were only 304 doctors in the entire country, and 204 of them practiced in the above-mentioned cities. There was one doctor per every 79 000 inhabitants.

This was the dismal picture, reflecting the public health conditions in Ethiopia in particular and in Africa in general, that faced the Cuban medical teams that arrived in Addis Ababa in July 1977.

At present, some 300 Cubans in the medical field, distributed into 27 teams, are working in 12 of the 14 provinces in Ethiopia.

Five Cuban doctors have been conducting classes at the Medical School of the University of Addis Ababa since the beginning of this year.

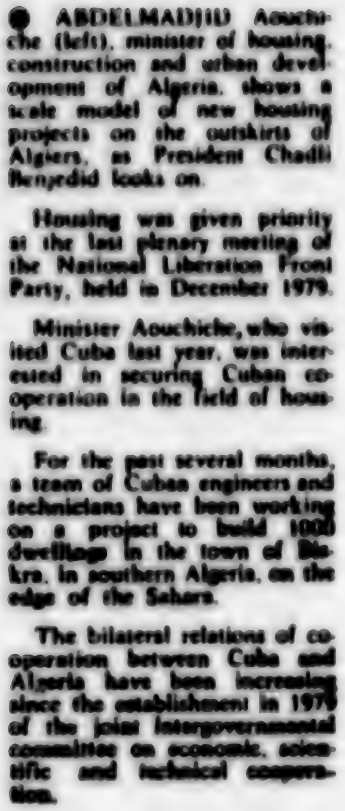
The Cuban medical team does not limit its work to treating patients, but also extends its efforts to the training of local medical personnel.

In line with these efforts, the Cuban team achieved something that had no precedent in the history of the country: the holding of the 1st Scientific Seminar and the establishment of the Scientific Board.

In the Seminar, a total of 66 papers were submitted, dealing with pediatrics, clinical lab work, general medicine, gynecology and obstetrics, nursing, surgery, reconstructive surgery and the treatment of burns.

The papers were based on the Cuban doctors' experiences in Ethiopia and contained a series of recommendations regarding the development of public health in Ethiopia.

Algeria



● ABDELMADJID Aouchiche (left), minister of housing, construction and urban development of Algeria, shows a scale model of new housing projects on the outskirts of Algiers, as President Chadli Benjedid looks on.

Housing was given priority at the last plenary meeting of the National Liberation Front Party, held in December 1979.

Minister Aouchiche, who visited Cuba last year, was interested in securing Cuban cooperation in the field of housing.

For the past several months, a team of Cuban engineers and technicians have been working on a project to build 1000 dwellings in the town of Biskra, in southern Algeria, on the edge of the Sahara.

The bilateral relations of cooperation between Cuba and Algeria have been increasing since the establishment in 1979 of the joint intergovernmental committee on economic, scientific and technical cooperation.

Sahara Desert

Cuban doctors are carrying out an internationalist mission in Tondouf Algeria, some 30 kilometers from the border of Morocco and Western Sahara. There's practically no vegetation to speak of, and while in summer the temperature reaches as high as 50 degrees Centigrade in the shade, in winter it drops to almost zero.

Traveling this part of the desert, where the Saharan refugee camps are located, is quite an experience. It involved a four-hour trip by air and there's always the possibility that a strong sirocco wind may make landing impossible.

Some 105,000 Saharan refugees distributed into dairas (communities), where the Arab dialect hassania is spoken, have become familiar with the presence of Cuban medical brigades.

The photo shows Cuban surgeon Alberto Gonzalez Polanco (with dark hat, glasses and beard) with the medical brigade he headed for one year. The average age of the members of the brigade is 29 and they are from Cuba's eastern provinces. This brigade, which returned to Cuba recently after having fulfilled its internationalist mission, has already been replaced by a new one.

CSO: 3020

SIGNIFICANCE OF REAGAN, SEAGA VICTORIES DISCUSSED

Reagan's Latin American Views

Santo Domingo EL NACIONAL in Spanish 8 Nov 80 Sec D p 8

[Editorial: "Reagan's Ambiguous Statements"]

[Text] Just the day before yesterday, in his first press conference, the president-elect of the United States made statements in which he described along general lines the policy that he would pursue with respect to Latin America. Among some sectors of the hemisphere, which are allergic to the odor exuded by the term "intervention," they aroused misgivings and frightening suspicions.

Mr Ronald Reagan said: "The United States cannot turn its back on some countries which do not completely adhere to the American concept of human rights, while at the same time offering its friendship to others whose status in this respect is equally wanting."

It should not be found surprising that some nations of the continent have already begun to probe the hidden meaning behind these ambiguous statements and are starting to ask for some kind of explanation of these equivocal notions.

To what countries is the president-elect of the United States referring? Cuba? Nicaragua, or the Panama of the Canal and of Torrijos?

No less unprecise is the wording in which the new American president remarks that his human rights policy "will be based on the realities of international diplomacy."

On "international diplomacy," not, as it should be, on international public law.

These statements are elusive and evasive, but they open the door to suspicions that have evoked heated reaction, such as that of Panama and Mexico which, in bewilderment, have even threatened that, if they should be attacked, even if verbally, they will make America "another Vietnam."

Wasn't that the dream of Che Guevara? Mr Reagan, adjust and purify your language, and lend it exact profiles and shapes, so as to prevent unpleasantness and antipathy, and to avoid the resumption here in America of a kind of cold war.

## Three Incumbents Lose

Santo Domingo EL NACIONAL in Spanish 11 Nov 80 pp 9, 10

[Article by Salvador Jorge Blanco: "Three Reelection Setbacks"]

[Text] There have been three reelection setbacks in three different countries recently. In fact, the rulers of Jamaica, Puerto Rico and the United States were defeated in elections won by the opposition candidates. Although the reasons for those three incidents have the most varied origins, there is, nevertheless, the coincidence that they are due to a similar electoral conduct on the part of the peoples of the aforementioned countries.

Although reelection is not banned in any of those countries, and it has been normal for the rulers to be reelected, especially in the United States and Puerto Rico, the historical conditions have varied and, consequently, the internal dynamics of our societies demand more than at other times, and wear out parties and rulers in their constitutional terms, making alternation inevitable.

We are living in times when the requirements of our peoples (in both the highly developed and the underdeveloped countries) exceed the potential of the nations to meet them completely. The former will not accept a diminishment of their prosperity, as in the case of the United States, and the latter aspire to emerge rapidly from the pit of age-old poverty in which they have lived, as in the case of Jamaica and Puerto Rico.

These changes which have recently occurred in those countries are combined with the crises in values affecting those societies, as unavoidable ingredients. Since there are no worthwhile, truly authentic alternatives, the people do not have a broad human roster to choose from, but rather are forced to make a choice from among the sampling of a "mediocracy," a term that I have taken from the work of Jose Ingenieros, "The Mediocre Man."

Under those circumstances, the people do not find what they desire in the changes that they themselves promote with their votes in the elections either. They exercise their suffrage, as an obligation, but they do not accrue, with that right, the complete fulfillment of what they are seeking in the political, economic, social and cultural realms. In this historic apathy, societies experience serious upheaval and even revolutionary processes. Just as in physics, the water in the societies subjected to certain temperatures comes to the boiling point, and then the changes are abrupt.

Luckily, the advanced democratic systems, such as that in the United States, withstand all tests, and the nation itself is renewed with its own resources, making it possible for the institutions not to have undergone retrogressions since its 200-year-old independence. In Puerto Rico and Jamaica, although they lack the American political tradition, it cannot therefore be said that, internally, they have not had or do not have a democratic system capable of withstanding the harshest adversities.

In those countries, reelection is in a process of decline.

Despite its political backwardness, in our country, where it has not yet been possible to establish a constitutional ban on reelection, there is also a spirit among the people to reject ostensibly obvious reelection. The results of the past, both distant and recent, from the traumas that have been inherited, have been really encouraging. Nevertheless, there are disturbing signs that, owing to our meager historical development and despite the progress that has been made, another reelectionist process may be hatching, and the country could be subjected to mere institutional frustration.

Therefore, because, in countries with a tradition of continuing with office-holders, such as the United States and Puerto Rico, where the rulers serve as least two terms, the societies are not tolerating more than 4 years of a constitutional term, what would happen in our country, with more serious and pressing problems?

From now on, reelection in our country cannot be merely a source of serious conflicts, the dimensions of which are immeasurable, but will be confronted by the Dominican people with determination and firmness.

2909
CSO: 3010

## PRD, UPA LEADERS ANALYZE REAGAN ELECTION VICTORY

### Pena Gomez Comments

Santo Domingo EL NACIONAL in Spanish 8 Nov 80 pp 16b-16C

[Speech by Dr Jose Francisco Pena Gomez, secretary general of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), as published in its official organ TRIBUNA DEMOCRATICA]

[Text] Comrades:

The elections in the United States are over. As expected, Governor Ronald Reagan is the Americans' president-elect today and for the next 4 years will be the most influential leader in the world.

The Republican Party won control of the Senate for the first time in 25 years and made significant gains in the House of Representatives, picking up 33 new seats.

Distinguished figures who developed into leaders of American liberalism because of their consistent efforts in their country's best interests and their devotion to progress and peace, were swept away by the overwhelming conservative tide.

Men of the stature of Senators Frank Church, George McGovern and Birch Bayh were easily defeated by representatives of the conservative wing of the Republican Party.

We are witnessing a stunning turn to the right by U.S. society, a turn that includes, in addition to traditional Republican voters, segments of society that in recent decades formed the broad coalition of the Democratic Party, such as industrial workers, racial minorities like blacks, Jews, Hispanics and the Irish and religious groups such as Catholics.

As a number of analysts have pointed out, the United States has been jolted by an earthquake whose aftershocks will be felt over the next 4 years.

Ronald Reagan has accomplished the unparalleled feat of becoming the oldest candidate to win the office, and he succeeded after three failed attempts, which shows that Ronald Reagan is a man of great patience and perseverance, two indispensable virtues for any politician aspiring to don the cloak of success.

The new president-elect of the United States has also broken another tradition that prevailed until the election before last, whereby the American people have chosen middle-of-the-road candidates and rejected those on the far ends of the political spectrum.

Thus, George McGovern was crushed by the prudent conservative Richard Nixon, whose past extremist stands had been moderated by his exercise of power. The American people followed the same tradition when Lyndon Johnson, another moderate conservative, overwhelmed ultraconservative Senator Barry Goldwater.

The trend was halted at this year's election, as the man who held more moderate ideas, President Carter, was defeated by the man advocating more conservative stands.

When President Nixon beat George McGovern, it was a candidate, not a party, that went down to defeat. Now, however, we are looking at a different case, because both the presidential candidate and his party have been bested.

Political pundits and analysts will be using vast amounts of ink for many years in trying to explain this unexpected turnabout by the American people, and explanations will always be hard to come by.

I have my own ideas about what happened in the United States and I am going to present them, along with the position of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, a position that I am authorized to voice because the party's bylaws make me its foreign policy spokesman.

The American people voted for Ronald Reagan as president for several reasons.

The first has to do with the loss of prestige and power by the great power to our north.

The United States has suffered repeated humiliations. A small, poor nation, Vietnam, kept its previously invincible armies at bay and forced it to sit down at the bargaining table and ultimately to abandon what used to be the territory of the Republic of South Vietnam. This was the first time in American history that the stars and stripes returned home in defeat.

This negative experience was followed by acts of defiance and humiliations, acts of defiance when soldiers from enemy nations invaded the territories of other states, as with the Soviet invasions of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, and humilitations such as the taking of the hostages in Iran, a brash move by a revolution aimed at intensifying national pride and the thirst for vengeance of a ruling class that claims to act in the name of religion.

President Richard Nixon, who was elected with one of the largest majorities in his country's history, and his vice president, Spiro Agnew, both had to resign when it became obvious that they would be charged with common and political crimes in the performance of their duties, thus plunging the nation into a deep moral crisis.

All of these developments, combined with others that were taking place daily on the international scene, gradually weakened the might of the United States, while another superpower, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, emerged as a dangerous political and military rival.

It was precisely the ascent of the Soviet Union to the rank of superpower and the fact that in the name of revolution it could undertake military intervention, as the United States used to do, without any policeman in the world to stop it, made the American people more aware of their nation's obvious decline.

This decline in military power combined with the world economic crisis of the capitalist system to make more vulnerable a nation that for many years has been the land of promise for all persecuted people, for everyone without a job and for citizens from all nations who dreamed of one day rising up from poverty when they had the good fortune to find shelter on America's rich soil.

In contrast to the full employment during the last world war and after the Korean War, the United States today has some eight million people out of work, as well mounting inflation that has considerably eroded the U.S. dollar's buying power.

The dollar, the almighty god that could open up all doors, had to be devalued during President Nixon's administration and has continued to be buffeted by the currencies of the defeated powers of Asia and Western Europe, to the extreme that during the periodic financial crises that have jolted its stability, American tourists have suffered the humiliation of having their proud currency rejected in the capital cities of Western Europe.

As the world changed, so did the United States' political view, which evolved from the harsh days of McCarthyism's primitive anticommunism to a position of respect for and defense of peaceful coexistence and detente. Thus, the People's Republic of China under Mao Tse Tung's tutelage, which used to be considered the worst of enemies, was recognized as a new friend and potential ally, by virtue of the notion that your enemy's enemy is your friend. And so Taiwan, America's number one ally in the Far East, was cast out, and its seat on the UN Security Council was taken by the communist People's Republic of China.

These major developments took place during the administration of President Nixon, who abandoned his past extremist stands and showed himself to be a man of great flexibility who was able to grasp the complex problems of his time and tackle them with extraordinary skill.

Therefore, when the time comes to make a list of the great presidents that the United States has had in foreign policy matters, Latin America aside, Richard Nixon will have to be included.

The Soviet Union acknowledged President Nixon's skills before me when it gave him more space in the Russian Encyclopedia than former Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev or when during the election campaign against George McGovern it granted him the privilege of addressing the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union via television, a move that clearly indicated his hosts' preferences.

When Jimmy Carter took office as president, he proclaimed a more hard-line policy towards the Soviet Union. His first act as president was a public letter of support to Soviet dissident Sakharov. Jimmy Carter was a decent man and a pacifist, however, and even though he moved against the Soviets by ordering a boycott of the Olympics and banning grain sales to Russia, he did not use military force to counter the armed venture into Afghanistan. Had he done so, President Carter would have endangered world peace, but this show of prudence was construed as weakness by broad segments of his people.

Some worried citizens considered it another weakness on President Carter's part that he returned the Canal Zone to the country it used to belong to and signed the Torrijos-Carter treaties handing back Panama its canal. Both moves were harshly assailed by conservatives in the United States, who regarded them as a capitulation and a cowardly surrender. Thus, the man who proposed the Panama Canal treaties was not the only one defeated at this election; the senators who backed them the most, such as the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Frank Church, also went down to defeat.

The hostage crisis was the last incident in this string of developments regarded as running counter to American supremacy. A fanatic prophet full of hatred for the great nation to the north and wanting to make it pay dearly for its support of the deposed shah, created the proper atmosphere for Iranian militants to attack the American Embassy and seize the diplomats there, who are still being held hostage today.

In the old days of imperialism, Iran would have been invaded or blockaded, but after essaying a clumsy rescue operation that ended in a mysterious failure, Carter was forced to renounce the use of military force.

By renouncing military force, Jimmy Carter placed himself in the hands of the ayatollah and yielded to his will. This mistake probably had a great deal to do with sealing his crushing defeat.

There are other reasons involved in the alleged loss of American power, because whereas the United States used to be energy self-sufficient, today it is dependent on energy imports and subject to the perils of another boycot by the oil producing countries. The United States is Israel's natural ally, but even so it has had to temporize with the moderate Arab nations and strike a dangerous balance between its Arab friends that supply oil and its allies. Peace with Egypt was reached at the cost of the occupied territories, and the United States often, and against its will, had to support UN actions that ran counter to Israeli decisions, such as the one declaring Jerusalem Israel's capital, much to the displeasure of American Jews. It was for this reason that a liberal state like New York, where the Jews exert decisive influence, voted overwhelmingly for the conservative wing of the Republican Party; even the respected Jacob Javits, the venerable liberal Republican, was defeated.

Some 90 percent of American blacks voted for Jimmy Carter, but their expectations were frustrated, and large number of black voters stayed away from the polls. Although they made major gains under the Carter administration, it is also true that they staged the most violent racial disturbances in the United States since

1968 when the city of Washington was ablaze after the assassination of Martin Luther King.

The contemporary world's major economic problems rapidly erode the prestige of governments. In the midst of today's world economic crisis it is very hard for a party to win two elections in a row.

Given the powerlessness into which the capitalist world's crisis is plunging nations, their hope is that the proponents of extremist solutions can bring back the bygone days of power and glory.

The identical feeling that now prevails in American society led Canada to give conservative Prime Minister Clark a landslide victory over Pierre Trudeau, but just months later the disenchanted nation had to get rid of its inexperienced leader and once again entrust its destiny to the routed Trudeau.

In a statement that LISTIN DIARIO published yesterday, President Carter clearly revealed the reasons for his defeat when he said: "It was not personal dislike of me. It was simply frustration, the natural tendency to vote against the people in power."

It was that same tendency that led the people of Jamaica to vote against Michael Manley, because he had been in power for 8 years, and that same tendency that led the Puerto Rican people to vote against Romero Barcelo, because although he might wind up winning by a narrow margin, it has been clearly established that he is not backed by the majority of the Puerto Rican people in his bid to make it a U.S. state, since the combined votes of the Independence and People's parties constitute a clear majority against statehood. And as I said earlier, it was this same tendency that led Canada to vote against Pierre Trudeau.

The reelection of a president is not that easy anymore in a country with major problems such as the United States, because an incumbent holds no secrets for his people and does not raise fresh hopes, whereas candidates who have not held the job belong to the realm of the unknown and prompt great expectations.

It is not by chance that there were landslide victories in both Jamaica and the United States, because both nations are awash in deep crises, the one in a moral and political crisis, that of the hostages, and the other in an economic crisis, because Jamaica is a nation in which an egg costs 20 cents, soap is unavailable, a kilo of meat costs $5, rice is rationed and display windows and grocery stores are empty.

Jimmy Carter's defeat has prompted a wide range of sentiments. Throughout Latin America the political and military right wing has hailed his defeat because he was regarded as an enemy of dictatorships and his departure will theoretically give them a better chance to impose their views on their peoples.

There were two sectors in our country that applauded Ronald Reagan's victory. In the first place there is the traditional right wing, which considers him a natural ally; hence, there are local political conservatives who have proclaimed themselves supporters of the Republican Party, after his victory of course.

Reformists, PQD [Democratic Quisqueyan Party] members, MIDA [Antireelection Democratic Integration Movement] members, rightist business leaders and Dr Balaguer's former military commanders (the latter with more justifiable reasons) have hailed President Carter's defeat. But strangely enough, in a very odd coincidence, there are sectors that we could place in the arena of political liberalism and that favor change which consider that Ronald Reagan's victory will help them implement their inexplicable political plans.

Thus, there is common ground among alleged liberals and conservatives in accepting President Carter's defeat and Ronald Reagan's victory as a beneficial development.

Someone has to be wrong, because the truth is not to be found in two places at the same time. This mystery will be unraveled only with time, however.

I feel that if President Reagan implements the policy that he announced during the first few months of his campaign, his term of office could jeopardize democracy in Latin America. If, on the other hand, he proceeds with the prudence that he showed during the debate or pursues the moderate and prudent line of the great Republican presidents, then, his disturbing words notwithstanding, Ronald Reagan will become a leader respected throughout the world.

I am confident that the president-elect will act in the tradition of the great Republicans, outstanding among whom are Abraham Lincoln and President Eisenhower.

Inasmuch as the Revolutionary Party has had excellent relations with liberal factions of the Democratic Party for years, some political groups are beginning to use Jimmy Carter's defeat against the Revolutionary Party. I would tell those who feel this way that the Revolutionary Party is a democratic organization that is the ally of governments and parties in the most influential and democratic nations of Western Europe, as well as an ally of all American governments, whether they are Democratic or Republican, that respect the Dominican people's devotion to democracy. Let no one think that he can unleash the hostility of the United States against us, because our national and international prestige is bolstered by the prestige of the Socialist International, a worldwide force made up of powerful parties from nations that are allies of the United States. And I would remind these dreamers and fishers in troubled waters that Reagan himself said yesterday that he would chart his foreign policy in consultation with the country's European allies. And it so happens that America's European allies are allies of the Dominican Revolutionary Party.

The PRD is a party with a great many ties in the United States because for years we have cultivated the friendship of distinguished figures there.

I would like to announce that this weekend I will be traveling to Madrid to attend the Congress of the Socialist International, and I will then visit Washington, along with a committee made up of the highest-ranking leaders of the government party in Mexico and former President Carlos Andres Perez, to present the case of Uruguayan democrats at the Organization of American States.

The Revolutionary Party and the Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, both under my direction, will closely monitor

political developments in the United States, and at the same time we reaffirm our willingness to maintain the best of relations with the nation under President Ronald Reagan's administration.

The following are the two telegrams that I sent on behalf of my party to President Jimmy Carter and President-Elect Ronald Reagan:

Mr Ronald Reagan, President-Elect of the United States,

On behalf of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, I congratulate you on your splendid victory and I wish you complete success in your administration.

Sincerely,
Jose Francisco Pena Gomez, Secretary General

Mr Jimmy Carter, President of the United States of America,

The Dominican Revolutionary Party would like to express to you its deep gratitude for your policy of respect and consideration for our country, for your magnificent contributions to the cause of democracy and for your vigorous defense of human rights in Latin America.

Sincerely,
Jose Francisco Pena Gomez, Secretary General

The U.S. elections are over. A pause begins in world politics, because the allies and enemies of the United States will have to wait for the new president to chart the guidelines of his new administration's foreign policy, while an anxious nation waits for the new statesman to go about solving its major economic problems.

The PRD, which has always proclaimed itself a friend of the people of the United States, wishes President Reagan success, with the hope that success is achieved within a climate of respect for democracy and for the principle of the self-determination of peoples.

## Franco Comments

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[Article by Franklin J. Franco, university professor and president of the leftist Anti-Imperialist Union (UPA): "Ronald Reagan's Victory and the Future of the Dominican Republic"]

[Text] I. Although the Republican candidate's victory in the presidential election in the most powerful nation in the so-called Western World prompted wideranging comments, and differing interpretations, on the whole we can observe a curious agreement regarding its repercussions on national life: almost all political leaders in our country admitted that the surprising victory would bring no substantial changes in the political situation of Dominican society.

And there is this curious but important detail: this consensus comprised men with widely differing ideological views, leftists and rightists.

It is curious and important because until now I had thought that the thinking of those who defend right-wing interests and the thinking of those who say they defend the interests of the masses were at odds and, therefore, in analyzing any momentous political development, their conclusions had to be different since they were working with different logical approaches.

But that was not the case this time, and they agreed that "everything will still be the same after Reagan's victory."

A number of left-wing leaders have argued in different ways that things will remain the same because the two men represent the "interests of the big imperial consortiums," not the interests of the American people.

The right-wingers did not, of course, include this detail in their statements and attributed the lack of change to the advantageous and natural institutional "continuity" of American politics, a factor that is implicit in the statements of the former, albeit with a different assessment.

I confess that this consensus strongly caught my attention Moreover, when questioned about the same development by a local paper that same day, I voiced completely different views.

I said on that occasion: "His victory will have a serious negative repercussion on Latin America in the immediate future. The fascist ultra-right will feel further encouraged, and our peoples will witness terribly painful and regrettable developments."

"When his victory is seen in perspective, however, I take it optimistically, because I feel that the progress of peoples is unstoppable."

In this article I will try to explain the grounds for my statements, which are somewhat different from those of some Dominican right-wing and left-wing leaders.

II. "The Dominican Republic is a country subject to the policies of American imperialism," generally assert those of us in our country who stand beside our people (or say we do) in their struggle to gain national independence and sovereignty.

Therefore, since that is what we are and inasmuch as "Carter and Reagan represent imperialist interests, the election of one or the other does not at all change our country's dependent or subjugated status vis-a-vis American imperialism," we generally conclude.

Viewed simplistically, such judgments are absolutely correct. Analyzed in terms of their real complexity, however, they are not.

It would seem to be a contradiction, my readers will say, to assert that a judgment can be correct and incorrect at the same time, but that is the case.

It would seem a contradiction, they will think, because according to the most elementary logic, a judgment, or a group of judgments, cannot be correct and incorrect, true and untrue at the same time.

This conclusion is true, but only on the simplistic level of what is pro forma and apparent, because in light of the profound complexity of any phenomenon, it is incorrect.

This is precisely because in analyzing a phenomenon we often stray from the thorny path of complexity and fall easily on to the paved path of simplicity, which explains why many of our judgments are misguided or in error.

When we say: "The republic is a country subject to the policies of American imperialism" and add that "since that is what we are and inasmuch as Carter and Reagan both represent imperialist interests, the election of one or the other candidate does not at all change our nation's current dependent or subjugated status," we are stating a half-truth and taking the simple path, which leads to mistakes, while disdaining the complex path, which leads to accurate judgments.

I will now begin to explain myself. It is absolutely true that "the Dominican Republic is a country subject to American imperialism." That is true, very true.

But it is a serious mistake, leading to other no less regrettable mistakes, to think that what we call "imperialism" is a homogeneous force that always moves along a straight line in one direction and to fail to realize that this imperialism is made up of opposing forces (different monopolies) whose internal struggles are what charts the course of American policy, both foreign and domestic.

If imperialism, in the broadest sense of the word, is made up of monopolies, then differences must naturally exist within it, differences that at times have emerged as real confrontations, World War II, for example.

I could mention countless minor instances stemming from the rivalries among monopolistic groups of various nationalities in their battle for world markets.

Someone might argue that such rivalries develop only among the monopolistic groups of different nationalities, not among the monopolies of a single nation, as in the case of the monopolies that make up "the economic base of American imperialism."

This is another simplistic assertion, because above all it overlooks that "monopolies stemming from unfettered competition do not eliminate it; rather, they exist above and beside it, thus prompting contradictions and particularly keen and blunt lines of reasoning."

In recent years, American imperialism has clearly demonstrated that such inter-monopolistic competition exists within it, inasmuch as it has triggered political incidents that we at times forget about or fail to analyze in their real dimension, such as, for example, the assassination of John F. Kennedy.

Competition and the struggle among monopolies are facts, although they are not clearly revealed most of the time. Hence, it is important to penetrate the darkness of this world in constant struggle, to understand some of the phenomena that take place in American society and that necessarily have repercussions throughout the world.

III. Within the United States' institutional framework, the competition that I have spoken of is normally carried on in the form of electoral contests.

Control over the incredibly powerful U.S. Government machinery is of paramount and at times decisive importance for the stability and the more or less accelerated development of all the monopolies that make up "American imperialism," which see in this control the guarantees for their economic expansion and supremacy throughout the capitalist world.

We can readily see that U.S. elections are veritable intermonopoly battles in which the groups that enjoy power (shared, at times, through congressional representation) and the ones that are out of power cross swords.

Thus, we find the institutional political expression of these intermonopoly struggles in the various elections held there, which in recent years have focused on the contests between the Democratic and Republican parties.

I must clarify at this point that it would be illusory to try and view these electoral contests as definitive confrontations between Democratic and Republican monopoly groups.

Just as monopolies have no homeland, they have no political banners either, and their support of one party or another in U.S. elections ultimately hinges on many circumstances but above all the specific type of production activities they comprise, as well as the domestic and foreign policy leanings of each of the two parties.

The only banner that monopolies unfurl is the banner of "profits," and the political domination of the government machinery in the world's number one monopoly state is the biggest and primary guarantee that this banner will stream on high.

Let's look at an example. In 1969 the U.S. Government opened bids for the manufacture of M-16 rifles at the request of the military.

Colt Industries put in a bid of $104 a rifle. Maremont Corporation placed a bid of $150 a rifle. The military, however, awarded the contract for the manufacture of 480,000 rifles to General Motors, which set its production price at $233 a unit (NEW YORK TIMES, 5 June 1969).

Guess who was in power, and whom General Motors, Colt and Maremont had supported in the previous elections, and you will have the explanation of this interesting little contract.

IV. I have established the premise that a dirty and permanent intermonopoly struggle is going on inside American imperialism and that this struggle generally

manifests itself in elections, although at times it also reveals itself in the form of political assassinations (even of American presidents) and public scandals such as Watergate.

If this premise is true, then this struggle, this confrontation was present in the recent elections staged in the United States.

I support this view and therefore disagree with those who are asserting that everything will be the same.

I have said more, though. I have contended that Reagan's election "ushers in one of the most difficult eras in the history of the Americas and the world."

My differences with the consensus in assessing this development are truly fundamental, which I will now try to explain.

The last American election was held at a time when the society was going through one of its worst crises.

This time, however, it is not just an economic crisis, like the one that triggered the 1929 crash; it is, rather, an all-embracing crisis involving its internal economic structure, its world hegemony, its political system and its moral fabric.

What has been going on is a global breakdown that has been reflected in episodes such the Bay of Pigs fiasco, the assassination of Kennedy, the emergence of the hippies, the invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965, the defeat in Vietnam, Watergate and the resulting assumption of the presidency by former football player Gerald Ford, the independence of the oil producing nations (OPEC) and the social explosion that has brought about the triumph of the Sandinist Front in Nicaragua, and it will not stop with the humiliation of the hostages in Iran, much less with the election of Reagan the actor as president of the United States.

No one disputes the economic side of the crisis in the United States, jolted as it as by unemployment of close to 11 million workers, according to official estimates, while industrial activity is declining in basic sectors such as motor vehicles, which has laid off more than 300,000 workers over the last 12 months alone; but above all there is the collapse of the mighty dollar as an international currency and the widespread inflation that has enormously lessened the buying power of the overwhelming majority of the country's people, thus ending once and for all the good old days when a high percentage of the population was able to enjoy the affluence that the country experienced until a few years ago.

This is a crisis that has proclaimed that the boom years are gone and will never return.

Everyone has acknowledged that this all-embracing crisis and its economic facet was the determining factor in the fall of the Carter the "humanist" and the rise of Reagan the hawk.

Three or four days before the balloting in the United States, a UPI cable reported that 200 of the biggest consortiums in the country had decided to support Reagan.

Three days after the vote, the same agency reported that there had been an unusual rise in the price of stock in the main American and overseas weapons manufacturing companies.

This latest piece of news, which is closely tied to the decision by the "200 largest," enables us to explain not only the reason for Reagan's triumph but also its future consequences.

Reagan's victory meant the victory of the major American monopolies involved in the war industry, or to put it as broadly as European analysts, the victory of the U.S. military-industrial complex and the crushing of the industrial and financial monopoly sector involved in civilian output, as well as the crushing of a quite large group of medium-size businesses and businessmen (albeit millionaires too) that were the spiritual and ideological force that promoted the Democratic Party's hypocritical foreign policy.

True, the influence of the U.S. military-industrial complex on the American government was undoubtedly enormous even before. It could be seen in every state, in every city, in the media and in each agency of the Federal Government; it made itself felt, in short, in every political decision by the U.S. Government. It was, so to speak, a "state within a state."

But even so, it had its limitations, dictated by the presence of other social and economic forces that occupied similar lofty positions in America's motley bureaucratic political structure and that acted as an obstacle to the hawkish, interventionist plans of the Pentagon's warmongering circles.

This is why the Pentagon often sang one tune in foreign policy while the State Department sang another quite different one.

All of this has been demolished by Reagan's landslide victory, which has placed the U.S. Congress itself [sic] in the control of the president-elect's party for the first time in many years.

U.S. policy, both foreign and domestic, will not be the same. And I must add that it will soon inject negative elements that are initially painful for our people but that in the long run will all become positive elements that will hasten the struggle in Latin America and the world.

V. Just as I have asserted that "American imperialism is not a homogeneous force and that a fierce intermonopoly battle is going on inside it for control of the U.S. Government machinery," I should now add that we can similarly describe the "world imperialist system."

I will restate the premise in other terms: "The world imperialist system" is not a totally unified force; rather, and quite to the contrary, it contains marked differences, stemming from the laws of capitalist competition itself, which still apply to this system, though at another level and in a different way.

If to this I add that on account of its own crisis the United States is not the same predominant force charting the system's policy course as it was 10 years ago, we would have to agree that today much more so than before there are factors that suggest the possible development of deep-seated differences within imperialism that Reagan's election could well hasten.

This is mentioned even in the reports of the Trilateral Commission itself, a group set up by the monopolies of Europe, Japan and the United States to conduct the imperialist system's foreign policy and made up of the most capable leaders of the status quo. It contends in one of its latest documents that:

"The United States must still play a main role in running the international system, continue providing ultimate security for most of the industrialized countries and continue being the largest economy in the world, the country of origin of half of the world's direct investment overseas, the largest supplier of foodstuffs on international markets and the least dependent of all the major industrialized countries in terms of energy and raw materials.

"Nevertheless, both U.S. domestic policy, which inhibits it from bearing a disproportionate economic burden, and the fact that the other countries might not want to follow the course charted by it, rule out the same degree of American domination as existed in the recent past."

I have cited this quote from the Trilateral Commission for incredulous Dominican right-wingers in particular, because it was enough for me to note a number of present-day developments to realize that the United States is not what it was 10 years ago. For example, there is the flirting of major European countries with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO); the acquiescing silence of these same countries and Japan with regard to Khomeyni's "follies"; France's position on putting American missiles in Europe; and here in Latin America the position taken by German Social Democracy regarding the revolutionary Sandinist Liberation Front at the very time that the U.S. Government was trying to establish Somizism without Somoza in Nicaragua.

These are facts and they are more valuable than any document, although the Trilateral's is without doubt a key one.

Thus, there are differences, conflicts inside the "world imperialist system," and far from eventually being resolved, this situation will intensify even further as socialist forces, the forces of peace and the struggle of peoples move forward.

VI. "Latin America is a continent subject to the United States' desire for economic and political domination," we generally contend. This is also an erroneous assertion because it is a half-truth.

It is also a simplistic assertion because it does not take into account the complexity of economic and political life on our continent and overlooks the changes that have occurred since 1959, when the Cuban revolutionary process said no to U.S. domination and began forging new paths.

This assertion does not take into account that after Cuba a great deal of blood has been shed on streets and in mountains and that after this there came tiny Grenada, then Nicaragua and at just about the same time Surinam, a small country nestled on one side of the Amazon jungle that is also striving to forge its own destiny.

If the simple premise with which I began this section of my article had been completely true, none of these processes would have occurred or developed.

Therefore, the argument that "Latin America is a continent subject to the economic and political domination of the United States" is an assertion that has been outdated by developments themselves and that does not reflect the objective realities that we are experiencing, a rigid and static judgment that ultimately reaffirms only the intentions or desires of the imperialists themselves.

The correct judgment would be: "Latin America is a continent struggling against the United States' policy of subjugation and dominance."

Just a few months ago, in his closing speech to the World Congress of Economists Mexican President Lopez-Portillo said that "economics is a historical science that 'like Minerva's owl' takes flight when the shadows of night have fallen."

Economic science (economists, in other words) has been unable to predict a number of developments that are taking place on our continent and that help explain the liberation movements that I mentioned a moment ago, which began in 1959.

Among the other developments that economic science has not taken into account, I must point to the sharp growth of domestic bourgeoisies in major nations of our region. At the same time that this factor spurs the revolutionary process, it begins taking shape as a Sword of Damocles hanging over American imperialism's ongoing strategy of domination.

Certain incredulous people might say that I am exaggerating. I would answer them that the Sandinist forces could not have triumphed in Nicaragua had this development not taken place, which was manifested in the support for their struggle from Venezuela, Panama, Costa Rica and Mexico, which countered the desires of the country that, as I have asserted many times, acts as our continent's policeman.

Independently of the attitude of these Latin American bourgeoisies towards the aspirations of their own peoples, in other words, independently of the political model that these bourgeoisies have promoted in each country (which in the case of Argentina and Brazil borders on the fascist model), the confrontation between these bourgeoisies and U.S. imperialism is a fact that will continue to develop because this is another inevitable dictate of the contradictory laws that emerge from the system itself.

Not too many years ago, the United States of America, or rather the imperialist monopolies of America, helped overthrow the last liberal government in Brazil.

They imposed a thoroughly fascist government and by bringing in no fewer than 50 large multinationals began a process of feverishly exploiting the country's resources that has come to be called the "Brazilian miracle."

For a number of years Brazilian reactionaries allowed themselves to be led by the hand and observed the dictates of their guardians to the letter.

But not long ago, that same reactionary bourgeoisie, feeling that it was strong enough to walk by itself now, began to make itself felt and to express its own ambitions in economic and political actions. Thus, when the United States opposed the installation of nuclear reactors there, Brazil ignored its instructions, rejected the International Atomic Agreement (pending in the UN at the time) and signed a pact with Germany for the construction of atomic reactors and technology transfer.

And the Brazilian episode is repeated in the case of the Argentine bourgeoisie, which refused to follow Washington's dictates concerning the ban on grain sales to the USSR, which was ordered after the invasion of Afghanistan.

What we are seeing in Brazil and Argentina (martial law and all) we can also see in Colombia, whose trade with the socialist camp is increasing year after year, and in Venezuela, Panama, Costa Rica, Peru, etc. Above all, however, we see it in Mexico, whose revolution early this century was the first cry of the Latin American bourgeoisie against foreign domination and which is now focusing its efforts on defending its gas and oil. Over the last 24 months it has resisted every U.S. pressure to make it give in and hand over its major natural resources.

On 6 November a UPI cable from Mexico, signed by Juan O. Tamayo, a political official in this imperialist news agency, stated that: "The presidents of Mexico and Panama have energetically advised President-Elect Reagan to remain neutral in a region lashed by political violence, unless he is looking for a Vietnam-style war."

Lopez-Portillo pointed out categorically: "He should not intervene and he should respect the internal process of countries because they are grownup nations capable of governing themselves."

In order to correctly grasp the substance of these words, we must not forget that the Mexican Government supported the struggle of the Nicaraguan people, as it today supports the Salvadoran patriots who are battling the genocidal Military Junta that is bleeding the country to death; it thus opposes the U.S. view.

Viewed in the harsh reality of concrete economic and political facts, all of this means that the bourgeoisies in a number of Latin American countries (the largest ones, as a matter of fact) have now achieved a level of industrial development that precludes their doing business solely within their own borders; thus, they are preparing to break their shell and extend their influence into territories that have been occupied until now by American imperialist monopolies.

These bourgeoisies, which are even spurred on by geographic laws, are looking to the Caribbean and the Antilles as a step on the road to their much-needed expansion.

None other than this is implicit in the so-called "San Jose Agreement" signed by Mexico and Venezuela, which involves providing Central American and Caribbean countries with credit facilities for oil purchases, technical aid in developing petroleum resources and financial assistance.

It is, purely and simply, a silent declaration of war on the petroleum multinationals.

The confrontation between American imperialism and the industrial sectors of the bourgeoisie in Latin America has begun, albeit without much noise, and it could give an incalculable boost to the liberation struggle of peoples, if we grasp the true significance of the phenomenon.

It has begun and will develop further soon because Reagan's election, coming in the midst of the empire's most acute crisis, means above all that the United States will intensify its interventionist policy on our continent in a bid to heighten the economic exploitation of our countries, which is one the very few methods it has available to alleviate its economic disaster.

VII. This is a bird's eye view of the international economic and political context in which Ronald Reagan won last week's election in the United States.

To think, as people have said, that Reagan's victory will not entail changes in U.S. foreign policy and that, therefore, "everything will remain the same" in the countries that, like ours, make up its sphere of influence, is an extremely serious mistake in my humble judgment.

It is like saying that that endless series of contradictions emerging from the world capitalist system, which I have described briefly in their American, European and Latin American manifestations, will remain frozen or ossified forever.

I think the opposite. I maintain that his victory will have serious repercussions in many Latin American countries but that nevertheless, if I understand correctly the national and world political situation in general, we will then be able to make these negative elements positive.

I will now explain what I mean as far as the Dominican Republic is concerned:

I must first assert that Reagan's triumph comes at a time when the Dominican Republic too is in the midst of a deep economic crisis, partly as a result of the American crisis.

Ours is not as all-encompassing as the U.S. crisis and, moreover, has its specific causes. But even so it is still one of the most serious in our people's entire history.

This economic crisis, which it is useless to describe with numbers because it manifests itself hour after hour in our harsh daily life, in the already intolerable increase in the cost of living that has forced segments of society that did not even used to wear belts to tighten them, will, sooner than later, bring on a subsequent political crisis.

The political side of the crisis has not yet arrived, but we are getting wind of it in the split among PRD factions, although it has not yet reached the degree that it inevitably will.

It can also be glimpsed in the Reformist Party's setback and, above all, in the disillusionment that the working people and the middle class feel with right-wing political personnel.

A firm specializing in public opinion polls conducted a survey just a few weeks ago on the popularity and unpopularity of the various Dominican political groups. The study was ordered by the U.S. Embassy, and its results show that the Dominican left has more grass roots backing than the Reformist Party and the Dominican Revolutionary Party, the two main strongholds of the right wing and the Americans in Santo Domingo.

The survey confirmed something that we already knew, that is, that American imperialism and domestic reactionaries are being left without solid party backing to continue legitimizing their ongoing domination.

Will the right wing continue to become more unpopular, and, conversely, will the left wing continue to gain support among the people?

Undoubtedly yes, and this process will be spurred by the economic crisis itself, which is not being and will not be solved within the framework of this government, just as it was not during the previous Reformist administration.

Thus, we must broach Reagan's triumph in this context and ask ourselves: if the government party and the Reformist Party continue falling into disrepute, will the imperialists and the Dominican right wing wait idly by for a surprise defeat at the next elections in 1982?

Who in a country like ours, where the most naive person can be a bishop, could really believe such nonsense?

To think naively is to engage in wishful thinking. This is alright for poets but not for politicians.

At this point in the game, as the popular saying goes, the Dominican bourgeoisie and the Americans have to be examining the situation and seeking solutions conducive to their designs.

VIII. In the same press release that I drew up on the day that I was questioned about Reagan's victory, after saying that his election "ushers in one of the most difficult periods in the history of Latin America and the world," I added that

"seen in its true perspective, I take it optimistically because I feel that the progress of peoples is unstoppable and, above all, because his victory is going to enormously assist powerful social and political sectors on this continent that had harbored certain expectations about Carter and his human rights policy to take a clear stand on a change in American policy towards their countries."

I pointed out that "his victory paves new roads for nations that will bring sectors that used to be indifferent to the liberation of peoples into the anti-imperialist struggle."

As I was writing this, I was thinking about how his triumph, amid the generally disastrous times we are living in, brings a breakdown in the country's institutional order that much closer.

This possibility came to mind not just because of the chaotic economic situation we are in but also because the victorious candidate's entire economic and political program, in both its domestic and foreign facets, proposes to surmount the U.S. crisis by intensifying the exploitation of the masses by the major American consortiums.

Internally, in other words, as far as American society is concerned, the people of the United States will respond and respond quickly, but this does not interest us for the moment.

As far as the Dominican Republic and Latin America are concerned, Reagan's program means, purely and simply, that the monopolies, dissatisfied amid their crisis with the degree of exploitation as of now, want more profits to overcome their difficulties and that these additional earnings represent more dividends sent home and greater poverty and distress for our peoples.

However, when I wrote that "it will force new segments of society to take a stand," I was also thinking that this same intensification of imperialist domination is going to affect economic sectors both here and all over Latin America that were previously not affected and that as a matter of survival will have to join the struggle against the empire's domination whether they like it or not.

I am not thinking only about the Mexican, Venezuelan, Brazilian, etc bourgeoisies that have already begun grappling with imperialism; I am thinking, above all, about the small and intermediate industrial nations that like all our people are suffering amid the intolerable crisis that is upon us.

Here is a statistic for the incredulous: next year, 1981, the country will have practically no American dollars in the Central Bank to pay for the raw materials imports that are required to such a great extent for the distorted industrialization that they have imposed on us, or to pay for the scant categories of items that can still be imported under the foreign exchange system that our government has established.

Next year, in other words no more than 3, 4 or 6 months from now, all of our imports will have to be covered by our own national currency, even medicines.

You don't believe it? Well, take note: next year we will spend more than $680 million on dividend payments to foreign monopolies doing business here, as well as the interest and principal of our monstruous foreign debt, plus $500 to $600 million on imports of oil and derivatives, which surpasses the value of our exports by more than $100 million.

Last week the Dominican Association of Small Industrialists held a press conference to speak out against the way in which small and intermediate industrialists are being throttled not only by the current economic crisis but also by the very projects that they have purchased through the so-called FIDE [Investment Fund for Economic Development] and that are sponsored by the United States.

The overwhelming majority of these small and medium-sized companies, working with obsolete equipment geared to the so-called "substitution industry" and with increasingly expensive raw materials imported from the U.S. market, are practically without credit (because the bourgeoisie and the foreign monopolies have monopolized the use of savings in our country) and are on the verge of bankruptcy today.

What is in store for them after Reagan takes office and intensifies even further the policy of subjugating our country to extract bigger profits for the desperate U.S. monopolies?

How will our small and intermediate industrialists and our small and intermediate businessmen react to this situation?

Will they continue to think that they have to support governments and parties that have surrendered to outside domination, or will they begin thinking that we have to find a solution to this disastrous situation into which the big domestic oligarchs and the foreign monopolies have led us?

IX. Reagan's triumph prompted celebrations marked by shouts of joy and gleeful hand-rubbing among the Dominican right wing.

This was to be expected. The president-elect is their firm ally and, moreover, has roundly stated that his administration "will not discriminate against any government on human rights grounds" and that "U.S. foreign policy will be based on 'protecting its friends.'"

In short, the president-elect has implicitly invited the most stubbornly reactionary sectors in those Latin American countries in which representative democracy still shakily exists, to prepare for a takeover of power.

In our country we are already beginning to hear rumors, fueled by the economic crisis, that such a development could take place during the first few months of 1981.

Is this possible in the Dominican Republic? The answer is yes and no, a seemingly illogical reply, but it is not. Let's see why.

A breakdown of the institutional order in our country is possible if the imperialists and the domestic far right, after carefully assessing the consequences, decide that it is to their advantage to create a climate of full-fledged civil war that will inevitably force all left-wing groups to back an uprising. A breakdown is not possible if, taking the above into account, they lean towards trying a variety of prescriptions to maintain the status quo of poverty and exploitation.

If we accept that this administration has guaranteed their interests just like the most backward de facto regime, we can readily agree that a breakdown is not an immediate option and that it will take place only if a grass roots movement aimed expressly at the established order (or disorder) causes the government to totter, which is something that is not on the agenda of any democratic group.

We can see this clearly if we recall that none of the major strike movements in the country last year, two of which completely paralyzed the country, questioned the legitimacy of the current president's mandate; they all merely voiced economic and social grievances.

So then, without completely ruling out the coup option, the agenda calls for a continuation of the country's shaky institutional order and the completion of the term of office of Antonio Guzman, who will gradually turn his regime more and more to the right as a means of bringing about the reelection that his friends and followers badly want.

The possibilities of a coup could mount if there is a ground swell in American society against the antipeople's platform drawn up by Reagan and his party, which calls for further layoffs of workers, even among the country's bureaucratic ranks, or if there is any serious threat of a clash between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Since both could happen and since, moreover, Reagan himself could help trigger them, we must not completely rule out the coup option.

X. Predicting the future is a somewhat difficult task. But predicting what approach the Americans will take to consolidate a political situation that is totally in their favor (bearing in mind the current situation in its colony Puerto Rico, a country of "remarkable stability," which staged elections that in no way jeopardized its status and during which they damaged computers and voting machines to force through Republican-backed candidate Romero Barcelo's victory with the ballots of lunatics and policemen), predicting the specific tack that the imperialists might take, I repeat, is more than difficult.

In any case, politics has its specific laws, which can be deduced from certain realities, and in the case of the United States the laws indicated that it had been turning to the right politically for some time and that the advent of Reagan confirms the trend.

Therefore, they will try to impose right-wing regimes in Latin America, with or without coups.

Naturally, the imperialists think one thing, and the peoples think something quite different.

We can readily see, therefore, that confrontations between the Dominican oligarchy and imperialism, on the one hand, and the democratic and anti-imperialist sectors, on the other, are inevitable.

They are inevitable and they will intensify further as the election campaign draws near. They will become more acute as the left in our country develops more of a chance to form an electoral front that could legally jeopardize their interests and domination.

Another possible option that the right wing and imperialism have before resorting to a military coup d'etat, is the formation of a "right-wing front" that could offer better chances in the 1982 elections.

We must even not rule out the merger of some PRD "factions" with the Reformist Party, with the total blessing of some Social Christian groups.

I think that this is possible, not only because it is imperialism that takes command when the right wing shows itself incapable of coming up with solutions to the crisis by itself, but also because we know that a major PRD faction operates in timid cooperation with the Reformist Party.

To all this I must add that crises also bring together rightists, not just leftists.

Hence, a right-wing electoral front could be dictated as a matter of survival for the bourgeoisie, the landowners and the interests of imperialism, above all if the left manages to unite for the May 1982 showdown.

Along with an election fraud that would enable them to hand over power to the group that best guarantees their interests, this latter possibility is the soundest option that powerful domestic and foreign economic sectors currently have in this country.

As we can readily conclude from all that I have said so far, Reagan's election introduces considerations pointing to substantial changes in the overall outlook for imperialism's policy towards Latin America and the nations of the Third World. This in turn will prompt new regroupings of political forces everywhere, which, if understood, could be utilized to further the struggle of our peoples.

We must not forget, however, that Reagan's triumph brings the possibility of a military coup closer than ever.

8743
CSO: 3010

## PAPER ANALYZES U.S. ELECTION PROCESS

Santo Domingo LISTIN DIARIO in Spanish 12, 13 Nov 80

[Article by Salvador Jorge Blanco: "Elections in the United States"].

[12 Nov 80, p 6]

[Text] I

Electoral processes in all countries are emotional in their various phases, ranging from the announcement of the candidates to the supreme moment of the national election, and including an internal primary phase in each party, which varies depending on the parties' own methods, with a strong inclination for learning the people's sentiments.

The United States of America, with long experience in the full exercise of universal suffrage, has accumulated a democratic existence that constitutes an example in representative democracy, wherein the vote exercised periodically and without interruption for 20 years has served as an effective control by the citizenry, from the municipality in its various forms, including the state and going as far as the federation, which is the sum total of the desire of an entire heterogeneous nation, emerging as a symbol of respect in the selection of all its authorities who embody the various state powers.

We have reached the final days of the election campaign. New York City is continuing its normal life. It is as if the electoral process were part of a civic routine that does not arouse great reaction among the populace. One does not see the traditional billboards for the candidates, but only a few stickers attached discreetly to commercial buildings and on buses, with the names of the national candidates.

The televised debate between the two leading candidates polarized the citizens' attention, just like the anxious expectation caused by a big boxing match broadcast. The verbal duel was followed as attentively as if the future destiny would be decided by it; because calculations or computations were made in favor of the candidate who achieved the best effects because of his aggressiveness and ease in speaking, his reactions and quick retort to the questions and the way in which he behaved in front of the television cameras. The newspapers are the first to give the percentages of those assessments, which unquestionably exert an influence on an electorate which is strongly affected by the results of the polls that appear daily, showing varying

rises and declines in popularity among the citizens as a whole, whose collective consciousness is the object of constant scrutiny, in collective violation, beforehand, of the secrecy of the vote and freedom of suffrage. It was obvious from all those early calculations that the favorite was Mr Ronald Reagan, as was the final result. The entire atmosphere breathing in the news media led to putting him ahead of President Carter (although with not so much of a difference as later, in the actual results accrued). The expectations created in the case of the hostages turned against Carter, because there was an entire citizenry anxiously awaiting their release to convince itself of the virtues of a clearly unpopular regime, because it had been left unsatisfied and eager for security in various areas.

In that respect, the platform points bringing Reagan and Carter into confrontation ranged from defense to international policy, including internal issues of an economic and social type in the United States. These aspects, although ostensibly different, nevertheless coincided because of their close, indivisible bonds. During the course of the campaign, Reagan staunchly upheld the need for increasing military spending in the United States budget, as well as the conventional weapons of its armed forces. It is obvious that this electoral promise was quite the opposite of the Carter administrative policy, which had begun with a pledge to cut that military spending, and was put on the defensive to such an extent that it was forced to propose a $24 billion increase for next year. In our judgment, this was the basic issue in this matter of defense, which revolves around the United States' prestige in one way or another. In economic matters, Reagan's proposals for a 10 percent reduction in individual taxes during his first 3 years of administration put Carter on the defensive again, to such an extent that he made a similar pledge, limited to the year 1981, to produce savings of $27.6 billion in taxes for the taxpayer. At the same time, Reagan underscored the budget deficit, inflation and unemployment which had increased during the course of the Carter administration like festering sores threatening the American economy. In international policy, Carter based his campaign on the "war or peace" option which he and his opponent represented; because he claimed that during his administration no soldier had died on the battlefield, backing this with peaceful coexistence, the self-determination of peoples and the maintenance of, and respect for human rights. Reagan, on the other hand, considered the world to be divided into two major spheres: the pro-American and the pro-Russian. The Third World was obviously not included in this two-dimensional view. A tremendous ingredient in the campaign was the matter of the American hostages in Iran, because the opposition candidate was inclined toward a show of force to secure their release, and the government candidate eliminated that possibility, with the view that the best possible effort for that end had been made and would continue to be made.

[13 Nov 80, p 6]

[Text] II

It did not fail to be apparent to the impartial observer that the electoral promises of the opposition candidate were very encouraging and realistic to the American citizenry, despite the message of peace and coexistence that was reflected more in the continuist intentions of the Carter administration. The advantage that Reagan maintained in the polls and surveys, multiplied by the election results, discloses how deeply Reagan penetrated the American people, bringing him an overwhelming electoral victory. An American friend with whom I discussed those

differences in the platforms, told me: "You must not forget that the Third World countries, with all their dimensions and varieties, will not be voting on 4 November."

It is interesting to ponder on all this. In the face of such dazzling promises, and with a power deteriorated by an erratic administration, having destroyed the ideals that created his advent, it was obvious that his continuity in the government was marked with the seal of defeat. His attempt at reelection was perhaps less tragic than the reelection defeat of President Cleveland, in 1888, because the latter had to eat his own words when the elected candidate proclaimed himself opposed to presidential reelection, on the grounds that rulers "make improper use of the nation's resources and agents, the treasury funds and public servants, to insure their continuation in power," just as unequalled pen of Jose Marti had written, in commenting on the 1888 elections in the United States.

Early on election day, we went to observe directly how an electoral board operates. A persistent rain accompanied the voting. It was a working day, like any other, except that every employee or worker is given 2 hours of his workday to perform his civic duties. However, the banks and schools close their doors, because those premises are used to set up electoral boards. The place that we visited was a school, in Queens, where several electoral boards were in operation. There was heavy traffic and movement of individuals in evidence.

There was animation. Our companion introduced us to the election officials in charge of directing the work, including the political delegates. We noticed that the instructions for voters, printed in English and Spanish, were attached to the walls. We were shown the board's register, containing the names of all the voters. Each voter has a card with his record, showing every time that he has exercised the sacred right to vote. His signature on the card is the permanent evidence of the exercise of that right. After showing his registration and having his identity confirmed, and after signing, he goes to the booth the curtain of which closes automatically when the lever opening the ballot is moved. Inside the booth there is an electronic screen listing the candidates approved by the various parties, in separate columns, with candidacies ranging from the president and vice president to governors, congressmen and judges. The voter will press the button in the place where the names of the candidates of his choice appear. It is an educated vote. The voter even has an opportunity to write, electronically, the name of any candidate, or to cross out a candidate or add one that is not included on the screen. When he has completed his voting, the lever returns to its place, which will indicate the selection that has been made. In the Dominican electoral voting, this action is represented by the twofold act of putting the rejected ballots in the basket and placing the ballot inside the envelope, which reinforces the secrecy of the vote, into the ballot box. Approximately 200 meters from the voting place the campaign advertisers still have an opportunity to approach the voters in the last great effort at convincing them politically, distributing propaganda about the candidates. Within the premises of each board, there is a complete ban on engaging in election propaganda. At 2100 hours, the polls have closed in New York City. A critical day has ended. By that hour, the results from several states are reported on radio and television. The system is so perfect that the defeated candidate, President Carter, is the first to admit it gallantly, with the resultant congratulations to the winner, Ronald Reagan, in a day's endeavor wherein the polls were very far short of the victory of the one in whom the American people have overwhelmingly placed their confidence, their faith and also their peaceful desire for the solution to the serious problems of one of the most powerful and most democratic nations in the history of all time.

2909
CSO: 3010

ISA CONDE: PNP'S LOSS SHOW SOCIAL DEMOCRATS' FAILURE

Santo Domingo EL NACIONAL in Spanish 3 Nov 80 p 17

[Text] The Dominican Communist Party (PCD) feels that the defeat of the People's National Party of Jamaica, led by Prime Minister Manley is the clearest sign that there is no third way, as the social democrats proclaim.

The party states in a document that "it is impossible to overcome imperialism and the right without radically transforming the underlying capitalist structures."

"These governments that attempt the national liberation process without establishing the communist system stagnate and open the way to the resurgence of the conservative right," the PCD states.

The PCD leaders say that Manley only went half way, and to a great extent the Marxist left was unable to develop a fully independent option from that of the social democrats, permitting the decline of the PNP to be capitalized on by the Labor Party under U.S. auspices."

The PCD recalls that Jamaica nationalized its bauxite, developed an independent and progressive foreign policy close to Cuba's and thus, the party says, brought on tenacious rightist and U.S. opposition.

But it states that at the same time that regime "did not introduce sweeping social changes, did not suppress the power of the rich bourgeoisie and foreign capital, was unable to make progress toward making state-owned property predominant, did not advance toward socialist revolution."

The PCD says that Jamaica "shows that American imperialism and its internal partners are ready to counter the slightest advances of our peoples."

It indicates that they prefer to have the social democrats under their control, as in the Dominican example, or even more conservative forces than the social democrats in certain alternative formulas, be they with the social democrats or not.

9015
CSO: 3010

## MINISTRY, ASI, CCIES DISCUSS ECONOMIC SITUATION

### Economic Stimulation Urged

San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 13 Oct 80 p 3

[Text] The seeds for a better distribution of the wealth of the Salvadoran people were generated in the proclamation of last 15 October, says the Ministry of Economy.

A substantial change occurred in El Salvador after the aforementioned date, it added, because the armed forces wanted to change the economic structures, since the country could no longer continue with inadequate planning, which benefited only a few families.

We have the responsibility, it emphasized, all of us Salvadorans to fight to further this objective and to bring thus to our country, for the benefit of the citizenry, a more correct adaptation of the current situation in the world and in El Salvador.

The Ministry of Economy indicated the profound reforms carried out up to now, referring to a better distribution of wealth, because, it said, a better distribution will come out of these actions.

Furthermore, on the international level the secretary of state is making great efforts to get financing to be invested in programs which will be directed toward the benefit of all Salvadorans, and not as before, they explained, in the sense that the previous authorities invested large sums which the country obtained for the benefit of the few, forgetting the people in the majority.

Another aspect which the Revolutionary Junta Government has achieved, against wind and tide, is that the foreign exchange which Salvadoran products generate now returns to the country.

Previously, this foreign exchange served the big businessmen, preserving their business interests abroad. Nothing was left for the Salvadorans, they pointed out.

Concerning this, the Ministry of Economy believes that if the people and the government continue to work together, as they are now doing, our country will soon move out of its present state of underdevelopment and those who will gain from this effort toward social and economic well-being will be the Salvadoran people in general, it concluded.

## JRG Reforms Praised

San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 13 Oct 80 p 3

[Text] The state must stimulate productive activities to reactivate the national economy, stated the Salvador Association of Industrialists and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of El Salvador in a statement issued at the end of last week. The two business organizations pointed out that it is most urgent especially because of the social necessity "for business to continue to exist and maintain the sources of employment and guarantee an adequate family income for the great majority of the population."

The chamber and the ASI said in their statement that during the last few months, although it is certain that one can hear a few voices which are clamoring for a national dialog to return to a state of rights and elect a constituent assembly which would dictate technically drawn up laws, on the other hand, they said, "the economic panorama appears more adverse every day." The representative bodies of the traditional private sector of the country indicate that in the economic area they have noted a scarcity of foreign exchange for the import of various types of merchandise, of raw materials for production and the reduction of credits by the nationalized commercial bank, "meanwhile the credit of Banco Central de Reserve has been doubled, by the recession of productive activities."

The ASI and the chamber said in their statement that, during the moments of crisis which the country is undergoing, it becomes necessary to evaluate the most suitable laws which would allow a real economic reactivation. "Within this framework," they said, "it is indispensable to analyze the most opportune moment to apply measures which would stimulate national production or have as their principal objective the generation of greater social benefits."

8956
CSO: 3010

## ASI SPEAKS OUT ON PRIVATE SECTOR, REGIONAL COOPERATION

### Private Enterprise Hailed

San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 14 Oct 80 p 15

[Commentary by Salvadoran Industrialists Association]

[Text] Private enterprise continues to produce even when it is experiencing an atmosphere of anxiety, according to the Salvadoran Industrialists Association [ASI] as expressed in a commentary published in its bulletin covering the first half of October.

The ASI commentary reads as follows:

"There is an axiom which states that countries which have dynamic private initiative these days have economic stability, since the action of free enterprise can never be surpassed in production and productivity, the massive creation of jobs and higher standards of living for their citizens.

"Among other things, we Salvadorans should be pleased to have a private initiative which, in addition to being dynamic, is aggressive and decisive; it does not matter what obstacles must be overcome to achieve the objectives of economic progress of a developing country which is seeking by every possible means to obtain a higher standard of living for its inhabitants.

"Throughout our economic history we can see how the Salvadoran, a tireless worker, has achieved success in his enterprise, small, medium or large, creating wealth for the country and placing us in a privileged position in the continent's concert of nations, despite our limited territory and lack of natural resources.

"Now more than ever, when we are experiencing an atmosphere of anxiety due to the violence to which we are being subjected, this powerful private initiative is responsible for prolonging the battle to continue to produce despite all eventualities and to remain firm in face of the direct, destructive and annihilating aggression of pressure groups whose only interest is to create chaos and anarchy.

"Through its determination to work and produce and, more than anything else, its daily struggle on behalf of the country in which it is operating, private initiative is becoming the mainstay of economic stability; that is why regimes which have destroyed the effectiveness of private initiative must call upon those where that initiative is still going strong to make up for their lack of production; this is the case with the Soviet Union and mainland China, both of which were forced to

import food from the United States where a powerful and dynamic private initiative is in full swing and is helping to keep that country in first place in economic terms.

"To conclude, we can honestly state that the economic salvation of our country will be in direct relation to the support and stimulus our private initiative receives, since, as far as the rest is concerned, the natural elements which characterize this sector are continuing to function despite prevailing adverse circumstances."

## Costa Rican, Nicaraguan Measures Alarming

San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 16 Oct 80 p 12

[Commentary by Salvadoran Industrialists Association on Costa Rican and Nicaraguan restrictions on imports]

[Text] "In connection with the exchange of goods between Central American countries, the Salvadoran Industrialists Association (ASI) has viewed with alarm the negative effects which could result from measures taken by the Costa Rican government with regard to the method of payment and by Nicaragua with respect to import restrictions."

The association has issued a press release in which it makes the following comments:

"Although justified by the deficit in the balance of payments claimed by the above two countries, both measures should be replaced by alternatives which would not only eliminate the restrictions but also permit a commercial flow without barriers in accordance with the spirit of Central American economic integration--the highest objective we should strive to achieve.

"In view of the seriousness of the problem, and having had a positive response by both the Guatemalan and Honduran industrialists, the ASI met with the Guatemalan Industrial Chamber and the Honduran National Association of Industrialists to analyze and arrive at alternatives which will permit the reestablishment of normal relations in Central America's commercial exchange. Among other measures, it was decided to hold a meeting at the level of the FECAICA [Federation of Central American Industrial Chambers and Associations] in San Jose, Costa Rica at the end of this week, to be attended by representatives of the industrial sector from throughout Central America. At this meeting, it will be necessary to adopt a resolution with recommendations calling upon the various governments to come up with alternative solutions to replace the measures already decided and which, although providing temporary protection, are not a valid solution over the long term but, rather, are causing a greater breakdown in the integration process.

"It is believed that strengthening the mechanism of the Central American Chamber of Compensation with an injection of funds from the Central American Integration Bank is the rational and plausible solution to the deficit problems in the balance of payments which originate in the Common Market; and if this injection of funds is substantial, it can assure a process of continuous and sustained exchange which cannot help but increase production and employment so badly needed by Central America to guarantee economic growth in accordance with the needs of the Central American man. This is essential and urgent, particularly because Central American

industry must be able to produce what the Central American consumer needs. This means that it is vital to use our installed productive capacity at its maximum, a capacity which is currently being used at a level of 60 to 65 percent, and this, in turn, means there is a waste of 35 to 40 percent of the investments in fixed productive capital in Central America's industrial sector.

"From the preceding it is apparent that the problem posed by Costa Rica and Nicaragua must not be viewed as a simple temporary situation but as a symptom which at any moment could spread to other countries in the area; and this can mean the destruction of the entire Central American Common Market and, why not say it, that of the industrial sector which has taken so many years to build up, with the effect this would have on the economic development and growth and subsequent social well-being of Central America.

8568
CSO: 3010

## CCIES CONDEMNS REPRESSION OF NICARAGUAN BUSINESS SECTOR

San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 20 Nov 80 p 14

[Text] The Chamber of Commerce and Industry of El Salvador [CCIES] has condemned "the crimes and abuses being committed against highly esteemed individuals representing the Nicaraguan business sector."

In a communique issued yesterday afternoon, the business entity declared: "Assassinations, imprisonment or banishment can never be given specious justification with the intentions of a government which supposedly desires to reconstruct and liberate its country from the vestiges of old tyrannies."

The text of the statement from the Chamber is as follows:

"The Chamber condemns aggression against Nicaraguan businessmen.

"On behalf of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of El Salvador, we condemn the crimes and abuses being committed against highly esteemed individuals representing the Nicaraguan business sector.

"Assassinations, imprisonment or banishment can never be given specious justification with the intentions of a government which supposedly desires to reconstruct and liberate its country from the vestiges of old tyrannies, but which is rather adhering to the atrocious, dehumanizing practices of totalitarianism that is the enemy of freedom.

"The death of engineer Jorge Salazar Arguello, acting chairman of the Superior Council of Private Enterprise; the arrest of the vice-chairman of the Chamber of Commerce of Nicaragua, engineer Leonardo Somarriba, and the abuses committed against other leaders of the private sector can only be viewed as an unfortunate harbinger of a policy of aggression against free enterprise, with the intention of destroying and replacing it, as has been done in countries that have reneged on their democratic destiny to become submerged in communist dictatorships.

"We address the Government Junta of Nicaragua, on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of El Salvador, to request that the full exercise of his rights be restored to engineer Leonardo Somarriba and other businessmen under arrest; because we are certain that they are victims of sinister plots. Instead of accusing them for preconceived political purposes, as is the custom in a police state, it should

be recognized that they are individuals dedicated to the creative endeavor of producing wealth, employment and prosperity for the people, which are the only means of reconstructing and preserving a country.

"We think that the true meaning of free enterprise, from an historical standpoint, for the Central American countries, is that of economic progress and social welfare, as a result of our brains and effort, without humiliating surrendering of our nations' sovereignty. That is the fundamental reason that the businessman, as a social force, deserves esteem and respect, attributes which we demand for the businessmen of Nicaragua."

2909
CSO: 3010

ANEP PRESIDENT URGES BUSINESSMEN UNITY AGAINST COMMUNISM

San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 20 Nov 80 pp 3, 28

[Text] The unity of the national productive sector is the force that will prevent the nation from succumbing to the oppressive war of communism. This combination of wills is the unassailable fortress which the enemy will never force to surrender, declared the president of the National Association of Private Enterprise [ANEP], Mr Eduardo Menendez, last night.

Elsewhere in his remarks, during the special session of ANEP held last night, Mr Menendez said: "The terrorists have selected the productive sector as the main target for their attacks. They know that all of the country's economic activity rests with that sector." He observed: "They are trying to undermine us psychologically."

Finally, the ANEP president made an appeal for continued support for the cause of liberty. "This is the time to redouble our efforts to keep job sources open for the benefit of the entire society, and to demonstrate to the world, once again, the capacity, discipline and patriotic zeal of the Salvadoran businessman."

The complete text of Mr Eduardo Menendez' remarks is as follows:

"Friends, businessmen: In this tragic period of our history, when the institutionality of our republic is faced with the threat of annihilation as a result of the terrorist violence of the Marxist-Leninist factions, I deem it necessary to make some comments about the political, economic and social crisis that is besetting the country.

"The forces of communist subversion are pushing our country into a fratricidal war, unleashed to undermine the foundations of our nationhood and to afford leeway for the establishment of an oppressive, Marxist-Leninist type government."

Savagery

"In this hard-fought battle, wherein savagery and absolute irrationality prevail, our business owning sector is the greatest victim of the foes of democracy and freedom.

"The terrorists have selected the productive sector as the main target for their attacks, because they know that it is the cornerstone on which all of the country's economic activity rests. In their eagerness to submerge our republic in chaos, the Marxist-Leninists are using all the weapons at their command to undermine the business owning sector psychologically."

We Are Accused

"We businessmen are being irresponsibly accused of being to blame for all the ills that this country suffers, and we are being treated unfairly, as if we were the worst enemies of our nation. These demagogic positions opposed to private enterprise, owing to their spuriousness, cannot and are not weakening our full conviction of the vital, constructive role that the productive sector has played throughout our history for the benefit of our people.

"Under these very difficult, extremely dangerous circumstances which are tremendously critical to the survival of democracy and freedom, there has arisen among Salvadoran businessmen a staunchly determined spirit and an indomitable desire for persistent struggle. We reaffirm the fact that the courage and patriotic dedication of businessmen have been, are and will be the stronghold for defending free enterprise in El Salvador."

We Are the Country's Backbone

"Respected men and women friends, let us be frank with ourselves and with the Salvadoran people. We are the backbone of a real democratic system. We are the real reflection of individual liberties. We are, in short, the bulwark of democracy. Those who are trying to destroy us are destroying individual liberties. Those who are trying to gag us are gagging free enterprise. Those who are seeking our elimination want to eliminate democracy finally from our soil."

Tribute to the Dead

"In my capacity as president of the National Association of Private Enterprise, and on behalf of my colleagues on the Executive Committee, I take the liberty of using this occasion to pay heartfelt, profound tribute to each and every one of the beloved business colleagues who have sacrificed their lives for the sake of freedom and justice for the Salvadoran people.

"Also, through this medium, I express on behalf of the association sentiments of profound grief and indignation over the despicable assassination of Mr Jorge Salazar Arguello, chairman of the Higher Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP) of Nicaragua, who was shot to death by bullets of the Sandinist Army, and whose assassination is a categorical example of what men poisoned by hatred and dedicated to the attainment of total oppression of their people are capable of doing.

"I call upon you to stand and observe a minute of silence to commemorate all the business colleagues who have been the victims of Marxist-Leninist violence and terrorism."

This Unity Is a Force

"It is cause for deep gratification to find, in your presence on this site, the indomitable character and steadfast desire for struggle of the Salvadoran businessman. This unity of the productive sector is the only force that will keep our nation from succumbing to the oppressive clutches of communism. This combination of wills, strengthened by the conviction of the principles of representative democracy and free enterprise, is the unassailable fortress which the enemy will never force to surrender.

"Friends, businessmen, this is the most all-important time in our history. The nation demands that each one of us dedicate the best of ourselves; that, despite the danger and threats, we keep upholding the cause of liberty, for which many of our colleagues have died. This is the time to redouble our efforts to keep job sources open for the benefit of the entire soeicty, and to demonstrate to the world, once again, the capacity, discipline and patriotic zeal of the Salvadoran businessman."

Supreme Effort

"We cannot retreat from our job sites now. Even though we all know that our economy is on the brink of bankruptcy, we must make a supreme effort to continue keeping the little economy that we have active. If we withdraw, our economy would undergo a total collapse. We cannot allow it to become paralyzed, even though it is sick and under attack; we must keep it going. For if we triumph, friends, our children will triumph, our people will triumph and our nation will triumph. Then, we shall have an opportunity to reap the fruits of our effort, our sacrifice and, most of all, our patriotism."

2909
CSO: 3010

## CUS, CUC MEMBERS DENOUNCE REPRESSION OF INDIANS

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 22 Nov 80 p 6

[Text] The repression from the Guatemalan Army being suffered by many Indian populations in the western and central plateaus of Guatemala was disclosed at a press conference here by two members of the Peasant Unity Committee (CUC) of that fraternal nation.

Comrades Pedro Ixcoy and Juana Sical, from the Quiche and Kakchikel areas, were introduced to the press by the Nicaraguan Committee of Solidarity With Peoples (CNSP), as part of the constant activities of solidarity with the people of Guatemala.

Comrade Sical stated that the Indian population is fully aware that the only one responsible for the situation that it is undergoing is the government army, which kidnaps, tortures and steals food from the inhabitants of the communities occupied by the military.

Juana cited the role that the Indian women are playing at present, joining in the undeclared war that is under way in Guatemala. She said that, for example, the women are guarding the communities, and remaining in a state of alert against the enemy.

Moreover, Comrade Ixcoy stressed the participation of the Church and of faithful Christians in the struggle of the people of Guatemala. This participation has caused the wave of repression against priests, curates, pastors and evangelists, particularly in the Quiche area.

In the rural sections, the economic and social situation has become very difficult and this is compounded by the wave of repression and torture against the leaders of the Peasant Unity Committee and entire families.

Comrade Miguel Angel Albisurez, member of the Committee for Labor Unity [CUS] of Guatemala, remarked that the current status of the regime of Romeo Lucas Garcia is becoming worse, because there is a rather critical economic situation, with a constant rise in prices of products of popular consumption, and an automatic cut in real wages.

He said that the control of foreign exchange, the lack of investment and a reduction in exports were noteworthy. This clearly reflects an increasing deterioration in

the regime, accompanied by an international isolation, demonstrated by the boycott on tourism, the refusal of loans to the government itself and the condemnations and charges made by international agencies against the regime.

Albisurez also stated that, at the present time, the unifying process is advancing in Guatemala through the Democratic Front Against Repression, which is the entity representing the organizations struggling in Guatemala. This is a unity which will develop and intensify more each day, with the participation of broad sectors; and Albisurez said: "We hope that in the future, depending on what is happening at present in the interior, there will result a discussion of a platform for struggle and a government program."

This could give rise to a rather extensive political entity. On the other hand, the comrade emphasized the unity that is present within the revolutionary organizations, including the Rebel Armed Forces, the Guerrilla Army of the Poor, the Revolutionary Organization of the People in Arms, and the Guatemalan Labor Party.

There is noteworthy participation by students in the revolutionary struggle, forming the Revolutionary Students Front of Guatemala.

2909
CSO: 3010

## ELECTORAL REGISTRY DIRECTOR EMPHASIZES ROLE OF PARTIES

Guatemala City DIARIO DE CENTROAMERICA in Spanish 23 Oct 80 p 5

[Article by Saul David Oliva: "Prof Walfre Orlando del Valle Stresses the Democratic Political System Existing in Guatemala"]

[Excerpts] With the politeness characteristic of him, Prof Walfre Orlando del Valle Merida, director of the electoral registry, gave us an important interview to discuss a perennially fascinating political theme. Emphatically and extensively, he referred to the comments being made abroad to the effect that there is no democracy in Guatemala.

Thus, the official said, what is involved is information devoid of truth, either because of rumors propagated by ill-intentioned individuals who have an interest in maintaining a negative image of Guatemala abroad, because at home we all know, Professor Orlando del Valle added, that the government of Maj Gen Fernando Romeo Lucas Garcia has been one which has most promoted a democratic opening in the past few years.

During his publicity campaign, General Lucas Garcia promised the people--and fulfilled his promise--that all political organizations which met the requirements of the law in this respect would be registered.

In this manner the functioning of four new parties was authorized: The PNR [Renewal National Party], the FUN [National Unity Front], the CAN [Authentic Nationalist Party], and the FUR [United Revolutionary Front]. These four new parties, in addition to the four already registered--the PR [Revolutionary Party], MLN [National Liberation Movement], the DC [Christian Democratic Party], and the PID [Democratic Institutional Party]--represent eight legally registered political organizations with a right to participate in the country's coming general elections slated to take place the first Sunday in March 1982.

On that occasion the people will elect the Guatemalan president and vice president; there will be a completely renewed congress, and there will be a complete change of municipal governments in the 327 municipalities, including the latest, recently established, Fray Bartolome de Las Casas Municipality in Alta Verapaz Department.

Of course, as regards the municipal councils, they are renewed at different times by virtue of the fact that elections are held at different dates. It is evident, our

informant told us, that in Guatemala a democratic system is in effect guided by laws which are respected, based on the universal principle of popular suffrage, to elect the principal organs of the country.

The director of the electoral registry also referred to groups which seek authorization as associations aspiring to status as political parties. Unfortunately, in this category, the interested individuals have not taken appropriate steps and the process is hanging fire. If there were interest by the sponsors, more than one entity would already have become a political party.

At present in the electoral registry no applications are pending, the official stressed in his statements to DIARIO DE CENTROAMERICA.

We publish below the complete list of political parties, their addresses, and the names of their executives as well as of those organizations seeking to register as entities under public law.

2662
CSO: 3010

EGP REPRESENTATIVE TO CUBA URGES LEFTIST UNITY

Havana JUVENTUD REBELDE in Spanish 13 Nov 80 p 6

[Text] "Impotence, desperation, weakness and international isolation are some of the features which typify the genocidal regime of Romeo Lucas Garcia at present."

With this comment, Andrea Ramirez, representative of the Guerrilla Army of the Poor of Guatemala in Cuba, opened an interview which she granted to JUVENTUD REBELDE in order to publicize aspects of the battle being waged by the people against the criminal dictatorship in that Central American nation.

The young revolutionary fighter then declared that, despite the cruel escalation of repression, the tyranny had been unable to restrain the sharp increase in the popular, revolutionary movement.

She said that in Guatemala the revolutionary forces have used clandestine methods in the hard-fought battle, for many years; and hence the many repressive organs have been unsuccessful in removing the heads or breaking up the politicomilitary organizations.

She added that, for this reason, the regime is indiscriminately murdering peasants, workers, students and intellectuals, in order to create terror among the population and, at the same time, to demonstrate to the national bourgeoisie and the imperialists the efforts that it is making to deter the expansion of the popular struggle.

The militant revolutionary stressed the fact that the rapid growth of the revolutionary organizations has enabled them to victoriously confront the most cruel repressive action carried out by the dictatorship of that nation, since the democratic government of Jacobo Arbenz was overthrown by mercenary forces of the CIA in 1954.

Andrea Ramirez also emphasized that the Guerrilla Army of the Poor, the Rebel Armed Forces, the Revolutionary Organization of the People in Arms and the Leadership Group of the Guatemalan Labor Party have formed seven guerrilla fronts extending across virtually all of the nation's territory.

She noted that, despite the repression, the political and mass organizations of all the popular sectors have also been strengthened and unified around the intention to overthrow the tyranny and set up a popular, democratic, revolutionary government.

In commenting on the unifying process in which the politicomilitary organizations are participating, she cited the irreversible nature of that process and its advanced level, which has enabled them to carry out successful operations agains the dictatorship in joint fashion.

Moreover, she mentioned the maneuvers of the imperialists, in an attempt to impose an alleged "democratic" solution, taking former Vice President Villagran as a main personage; but they did not succeed in passing him off as an alternative. And now they are using the discredited Christian Democratic Party, and its secretary general, Vinicio Cerezo, in the vaunted farce.

She said: "During the course of the electoral process in the United States, Ronald Reagan threatened that, if he won, he would send the Marines to our country to help the Romeo Lucas regime; but he would do well to remember the crushing defeat suffered by those elite forces in Vietnam."

And she added: "The United States has no right to intervene in the just battle that the Guatemalan people are waging;" calling upon the democratic peoples and governments of the world to offer the most extensive solidarity to prevent those threats from being carried out.

In conclusion, Andrea Ramirez said that the maturity gained by the politicomilitary organizations is a result of the acquisition of experience, both from the national struggle and from those in countries such as Nicaragua and El Salvador. "We are convinced that the revolutionary victory in Guatemala requires the strong unity of all the popular and democratic revolutionary forces, because it is a necessity that cannot be deferred. Very soon, we shall be able to announce to our people and to the world that our unity is a reality."

2909
CSO: 3010

JAMAICAN ELECTION RESULTS SEEN AS TRIUMPH OF DEMOCRACY

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 7 Nov 80 p 7

[Editorial: "The Jamaica Lesson"]

[Text] Up to now there has been relatively little said in the news media about the notorious electoral failure of former Prime Minister Michael Manley and the clamourous success of the opposition leader, Edward Seaga, who has now become the head of state in Jamaica, the Caribbean's attractive former British colony.

However, there are several factors which make this election a true indication of how the people think and provide clear evidence that the majority--if given the opportunity to choose--decide in favor of freedom and reject collectivism, the generator of oppression, poverty and the erosion of human rights.

When Manley came to power a few years ago, he was a charismatic leader. His organization, called the National Democratic Party, received the people's overwhelming support and announced a program of social, moderate and hopeful change.

Once at the government's helm, he began to turn to the left with increasing enthusiasm, and the paroxysm of that policy was marked with ever closer relations with the unfortunately famous dictator of the Caribbean, Fidel Castro.

Castro decorated Manley. Manley decorated Castro. They exchanged visits. The Havana regime offered "advice" to reorganize Jamaican policy, and in that manner, military infiltration began.

Meanwhile, sizable sectors of the economy were nationalized, and immediately, as usually happens in these cases, production began to drop.

In the face of these unwise economic measures, galloping unemployment developed, finally reaching 30 percent of the economically active people.

Lack of opportunity, on the one hand, and the worrisome turn of political events, on the other, caused many of the country's talented people to leave the country and emigrate, particularly to the United States.

The same thing happened with the country's capital. Despite monetary control measures, businessmen managed to get hold of their money and send it to foreign banks, thus adding the corrosive process of the removal of capital to the drain on the country's intelligentsia.

Meanwhile, Mr Manley's demagogy became increasingly bold. The country's radio stations were taken over by the government through obligatory purchase from their owners, and a defamation campaign was initiated against one of the Caribbean's best newspapers, THE DAILY GLEANER, the area's most influential newspaper which has been defending the freedom of the press and the democratic system since its founding many, many years ago.

The Jamaican citizens, inheritors of English culture, the vast majority well-educated, lovers of freedom and concerned about lack of supply, shortages, inflation, unemployment and threats to the system of values of the Western man, decided that they had reached the moment of change.

Thus, when the country was called upon to vote and the Labor Party defined its platform in a few words, announcing its decision to fight against all forms of collectivism and in defense of free initiative, the people espoused its position and upon filling out their ballots gave an impressive indication of their love for freedom.

Of the 60 seats of which parliament is composed the opposition took over 51. Manley's "democratic socialism" and Fidel Castro's "friendship" became an unspeakable humiliation for the former ruler: he obtained only 9 seats in the Chamber and had to turn the responsibility over to the opposition leader at once as is customary in parliamentary governments.

We believe that there is a lesson in the case of Jamaica which our politicians should take into consideration.

In England the Conservative Party recently won out. In Germany the social democrats succeeded in remaining in power only through the votes of the free democrats (liberals) with whom they had formed a coalition.

In the United States the Republic Party crushed the Democratic Party despite the fact that the latter was in the White House, and in Jamaica, a country which supposed itself to be Cuba's strongest ally, exactly the same thing happened.

What do these electoral results mean?

Could we deduce from them that people prefer "revolutionary" options above democratic solutions?

Apparently not.

When man has the opportunity to choose, he chooses freedom.

It holds great significance for Central America as a whole and, obviously, for Honduras, at a time when certain traditional politicians, wanting to appear fashionable, adopt demagogic positions to give the impression that they have moved away from the left.

It would be worthwhile for the liberals, nationalists, "pinuistas" and Christian democrats to study what happened in Jamaica and ask the people directly what they want instead of assuming that they know what the people want.

The answers may be astonishing. But it is better to be astonished before rather than after the elections, as Messrs Manley and Carter must undoubtedly be thinking at this very moment, having suffered the impressive defeat which took them out of the mainstream of history.

8568
CSO: 3010

JGRN, MEMBERS OF STATE COUNCIL SCORE NATIONAL UNITY CRISIS

Communique Issued

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 11 Nov 80 pp 1, 5

[Text] To the heroic people of Nicaragua:

The Government Junta of National Reconstruction addresses you tonight to give a true explanation of certain events that have occurred in the country on which we are obliged to comment:

I. For reasons of national security which, as we shall observe subsequently, have been fully proven, the decision was made not to give permission for a proselytizing activity organizedby the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN) in the town of Nandaime, scheduled for Sunday, 9 November.

II. For the same national security reasons, the country's news media were asked not to release information regarding the political activity in Nandaime which had been cancelled; and, although the government of the republic received the understanding of the vast majority of the news media, some had a defiant position toward these government measures adopted on the basis of national laws.

III. The Government Junta of National Reconstruction attempted to use all the means at its disposal, including direct persuasion and dialog by members of the Junta itself with MDN leaders, to make them understand the nature of and the need for the measures adopted, and the reasons requiring observance thereof.

IV. According to the reports in the possession of the revolutionary government, on the same date on which the MDN gathering was scheduled in Nandaime, armed attacks were to be carried out by counterrevolutionary forces which, in fact, occurred; and it was our concern to avoid the coinciding of those situations at all costs. Tonight, the ministers of defense and interior who are here with us, will give you a full report on the attacks which counterrevolutionary groups carried out on Sunday in the department of Nueva Segovia, attacks which were courageously repelled by our heroic armed forces.

We must tell our people that now, as in the past, it is our concern to preserve and strengthen the national unity of all the forces in our fatherland which are interested in the process of national reconstruction. At the present time, there are many dangers hovering over our country, its integrity and our sovereignty; and we must

be prepared for future attacks, because the enemies of the people of Nicaragua are conspiring abroad, and organizing into gangs of assassins to try to stike us and destroy the conquests of our revolution.

This is a patriotic appeal for the national unity of all the democratic forces in Nicaragua, which we are issuing on behalf of the strength and integrity bequeathed to us by the heroes Jose Dolores Estrada, Benjamin Zeledon, Augusto Cesar Sandino, Pedro J. Chamorro and Carlos Fonseca; a unity which we cannot jeopardize at any price, since the popular advances of our revolution have no price. And we also appeal for consideration of the negative effects abroad of any kind of action inspired by private interests, and not by the interests of the nation and the revolution, which is carried out by political groups or individuals.

In making this appeal for national unity, the Government Junta of National Reconstruction reaffirms its indomitable intention of implementing its government program, which guarantees political pluralism, public freedoms and the mixed economy system. However, we must give warning that lack of understanding, lack of a national viewpoint and persistence in protecting private interests rather than those of the country, will make it more difficult to progress with the implementation of this program, which is the program of the revolution, from which we shall not deviate.

Now, I wish to give the floor to the minister of defense, Comdr Humberto Ortega, and the minister of interior, Comdr Tomas Borge, who will report to you on the hostile incidents on the northern border.

Thank you and good night.

House of Government, 10 November 1980.

## Clerical Representative

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 15 Nov 80 p 14

[Text] Father Alvaro Arguello, representative of the National Association of the Clergy in the Council of State, declared that the MDN [Nicaraguan Democratic Movement], PCD [Conservative Democratic Party], PSC [Social Christian Party] and COSEP [Higher Council of Private Enterprise] have attempted to create an artificial crisis in the country which has no significant popular support.

The Church representative described the position of the minority parties which, in a futile attempt to break the national unity that has its own demonstration in the Council of State, distrupted Wednesday's session, as one of provocation and opposition to the Sandinist Front.

Father Arguello remarked that this attempt to destroy national unity and the policy of reconstructing the country should be viewed as a confrontation between two plans indicating how the Nicaragua of the future should be organized.

The first plan, Father Arguello noted, is the popular, democratic, revolutionary one which attempts to solve the problems of the vast majority of workers and peasants in our country.

The second plan is that represented by the right wing sectors, consisting of COSEP, political parties and trade union confederations, which is nothing but a bourgeois plan aimed at protecting very private interests, and disregarding everything that is being attempted to accomplish for the great majorities in our country, commented Father Arguello.

Furthermore, he described the attitudes of the members of COSEP and the political parties at the present time as an attempt at boycotting the revolutionary plan.

They Are Thinking of Political Benefits

Reflecting on why these sectors have assumed such an attitude, Father Arguello said that, with meddling by certain sectors, they feel sufficiently strong to confront the forces of the revolution, seeking an opportunity to accrue great political benefits.

In all of this there have been internal and international factors, and an entire plan including forces from abroad combined with internal reactionary sectors, which are laying the groundwork for assuming such attitudes and for attempting to destroy national unity and reconstruction.

Positions of CUS and CTN 'Inconceivable'

Father Arguello described the positions assumed by the Labor Unification Federation [CUS] and the Federation of Nicaraguan Workers [CTN], in withdrawing from the Council of State along with the bourgeois organizations, as "inconceivable."

The position whereby the CTN and CUS representatives support an historical plan that runs counter to the interests of the large majorities of workers is considered inconceivable by this Church representative, who confessed that he seriously questioned these organizations that claim to represent the workers.

They Should Admit That They Made a Mistake

Father Arguello remarked: "If I were they, and had a political view of the issue, I would go to the Council of State again, admitting that the first decision made was mistaken, and I would return, because it is in the political area that one can act politically."

He added that, if they withdraw from the Council of State for an indefinite period of time, they will have no area for action, because they will not become involved in the armed counterrevolution.

Daniel Ortega, Others

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 15 Nov 80 pp 1, 5

[Text] Last night, on the "Face the People" program, the commander of the revolution and member of the Government Junta, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, declared: "We are proud to be an armed party and a vanguard revolutionary force, and we are ready to arm the entire people."

The program, held at the La Mascota Children's Center, consisted of a candid dialog among the Government Junta, officials of the National Headquarters of the Sandinist Popular Militias [MPS] and the battalion commanders and instructors of the MPS of Managua.

The meeting was also attended by Comrades Sergio Ramirez, Moises Hassan and Arturo J. Cruz, members of the Government Junta; Brigade Comdr Eden Pastora Gomez, national head of the MPS; Comdr Emmet Lang, and Comrade Alvaro Gonzalez Cerrato, chief of the militias in Managua.

Commenting on the position of the bourgeois parties in withdrawing from the Council of State, Commander Ortega noted: "They are helping the working class to open its eyes, and realize the role being played by these organizations, which are tools of those exploiting the workers."

Commander Ortega remarked that those minority groups have taken courage from the notion that the FSLN has lost strength, and the belief that what the president-elect of the United States, Ronald Reagan, is going to do is back them and set them forth against Nicaragua. "To touch Nicaragua is to touch an entire people," warned Commander Ortega emphatically.

Ortega said that it is forgotten that there was a revolution here and that in the first phase of the victory the people shed their blood. Now those sectors want the people to continue shedding their blood. They do not understand the generous spirit of the revolution.

The commander of the revolution stated that Robelo should remember that it was the FSLN National Directorate which called upon him personally, and not as a representative of MDN, to join the Government of National Reconstruction. He said that the Sandinist Front devised and gave an impetus to the policy of national unity.

Analyzing the withdrawal of the bourgeois parties from membership in the Council of State, Commander Ortega stressed that there is no crisis such as that claimed by MDN and LA PRENSA. What it is is the separation of a minority which did not succeed in carrying along the rank and file. The revolutionary leader said that there is no doubt whatever that they did the greatest damage on the international level, to create an atmosphere hostile to the revolution and to cut off international aid.

For his part, Dr Sergio Ramirez Mercado remarked that the Sandinist Front is protecting the interests of the great majorities. National unity has not been imposed by anyone, but was conceived by the FSLN, as the member of the Government Junta stressed.

Dr Arturo Cruz declared that the unity of the JGRN is absolute, whatever be the situation that may crop up. He added: "The table for our discussions is not one of confrontation; decisions are made on the basis of solidary consensus."

Comrade Moises Hassan cited the revolutionary nature of our Sandinist Popular Militias, noting that, for the defense of the revolution the vanguard took the option that it would be the people in arms, in the face of any foreign aggression, who would assumed this historic responsibility.

Brigade Comdr Eden Pastora Gomez, national commander of the Sandinist Popular Militias, described the revolution's lines of defense, underscoring the need for a greater integration of the people into the MPS, as a force defending the true interests of our people and of the revolution.

2409
CSO: 3010

## INPESCA MINISTER DISCUSSES FISHING INDUSTRY, CUBAN HELP

Havana MAR Y PESCA in Spanish Sep 80 pp 12-13

[Interview with Carlos Coronel Kauts, minister of the Nicaraguan Fishing Institute (INPESCA), in Cuba; date not given]

[Text] Carlos Coronel Kauts, minister of the Nicaraguan Fishing Institute, recently visited Cuba in order to continue the exchange of views in the realm of cooperation between the two countries. In addition to the interview granted to our publication, Coronel Kauts arranged for our participation in some of the tours that he made of fishing and ship construction installations in Cuba, which afforded us greater identification with the effort being m de by Nicaragua at present to achieve rapid growth in fishing. During his visit to the Cardenas shipyards, the Nicaraguan minister conversed at length with youths from the fraternal country who are taking a training course in the construction of reinforced cement fishing boats. The young grantholders showed him, step by step, the production line for the construction of the vessels and, what was more thrilling, the site where the immediate manufacture of one of them was to begin, with the sole intervention of students from Nicaragua; so that, upon its completion, it could be sent to the fraternal country as another sample of what is possible as a result of revolutionary cooperation between peoples!

MAR Y PESCA: It would be of great interest to our readers to learn the status of the Nicaraguan fishing industry upon the victory of the revolution.

Coronel: First of all, I must tell you that, upon the victory of the people's war, all the fishing facilities of any size were in the hands of Somoza's representatives. So, they immediately proceeded to dismantle the fleets and take them to other countries, at least the best vessels. They did the same thing with the spare parts, fishing equipment and major industrial equipment. On 19 July, when the people won their great revolutionary victory, the Nicaraguan fishing industry was therefore in a state of collapse. This, of course, applies to what we might call a fishing industry with a certain amount of development because, on the other hand, we have inherited a manual fishing, as was the case in Cuba, a reflection of the exploitation to which the fishermen were subjected. However, the Sandinist government intends to achieve immediate development in this branch of industry which, in the first place, will make it possible to increase the people's food products to a considerable extent, and, secondly, to increase one of our leading export items.

MAR Y PESCA: Then the first measures were....

Coronel: You can imagine them: with the fleets dismantled, and lacking spare parts, the few remaining vessels were overworked, and the processing plants were at a standstill. So, we had to begin....We proceeded to confiscate the plants that were in the hands of the tyranny's representatives and former national guardsmen, and in this way most of the Nicaraguan fishing industry was turned over to the people. This was on the one hand; and, on the other, the Government Junta issued a decree making exports state-owned and nationalizing foreign trade. Obviously, as part of this, the foreign trade in fish was nationalized, something that was accomplished through the Nicaraguan Sea Products Enterprise. This enterprise is part of the Nicaraguan Fishing Institute, which is the agency that runs the entire fishing industry in the country.

MAR Y PESCA: At the time of the victory of the Nicaraguan people's war, approximately how many fishermen were there in the country?

Coronel: If we count the processing plants, and the manual fishing, under the administration of INPESCA, there are about 10,000 persons. Now then, there is also a large number of fishermen, especially in the interior waters, who could represent another 5,000 persons. These fishermen sell their goods on the free market, and they also engage in a very manual kind of fishing. Nicaragua is very replete with rivers and lakes, and these fishermen make their catches aboard small rowboats, with little hooks...it is very manual!

MAR Y PESCA: A short while ago you mentioned processing plants. What are those plants like?

Coronel: These plants are somewhat like what you call combines....They have a fleet, shops for repairs, and shops for processing lobster, shrimp or fish. The products are packed and then exported through the pertinent enterprise of the Nicaraguan Fishing Institute. They are actually industrial extraction complexes.

MAR Y PESCA: Nicaragua is a country with a great fishing potential....

Coronel: Of course it is; we have vast resources. However, we also have great problems which, to be sure, the Nicaraguan people will manage to surmount. The Sandinist revolution is the starting point for this. For example, our present installed capacity is greater than our catching capacity, because, as I told you, the fleet is not yet completely reactivated. This is a task that the revolutionary government has undertaken with tremendous energy. We have already recovered many of the vessels that the hired assassins took away. Furthermore, the enthusiasm of all the fishermen and workers in the industry is tremendous.

MAR Y PESCA: Could we discuss other immediate plans concerning the fishing industry?

Coronel: In the first place, we are engaged in very specific work, without succumbing to sophistication that would cause us problems later. For the time being, the main thing is to strengthen what we have, to achieve the maximum from the resources available to us, without failing, for that reason, to look toward the future. Our main resources on the marine platform of both oceans are shrimp and lobster. They are the resources which were traditionally developed in Nicaragua, which afforded an immediate opportunity for attracting hard currency. Hence, our main immediate plans

are for the development of these fisheries. Over the medium term, we shall attempt to develop the scaly fish industry, and we shall succeed. The deep sea fishing, for tuna in the Pacific, is essentially a plan over a long period of time.

MAR Y PESCA: And what about the lakes?

Coronel: The largest lake in Nicaragua measures 8,000 square kilometers! It is really a fresh water sea, with special, very different features. Although the water is fresh and potable, its fauna is of tremendous interest, including sharks, mountain fish, sea bass and shad....It has a link with the sea through the San Juan River, about 100 miles long, with its mouth in the Caribbean Sea. Of course this river also has very abundant fauna. We shall attempt to progress with the exploitation of these waters....although, I repeat, the first thing will be to consolidate what is already under exploitation....

MAR Y PESCA: What are the most important distinctive features on the Nicaraguan Pacific and Atlantic coasts?

Coronel: There are many resources on both coasts: shrimp, lobster and fish...For example, the Pacific shrimp are larger, although they have to be fished at greater depths. The Pacific lobster is vegetarian, whereas that of the Atlantic is the same that you fish for here. The most important fauna in the Pacific is pelagic. There are tremendous resources on both coasts: red snapper, giant bass and many other species of commercial value. Of course, the Atlantic platform is larger....

MAR Y PESCA: Returning now to economic matters, what place does the fishing industry occupy at present in the Nicaraguan national economy?

Coronel: Our leading fishing economy is associated with shrimp and lobster. Of those products, with the limitations of company statistics that we inherited, there were traditionally exports of about $30 or $35 million dollars. Taking into account the fact that the leading industries are coffee, cotton, livestock, sugar and gold, the fishing industry would rank about fifth. Now, the development of the fishing industry is of tremendous importance insofar as attracting hard currency is concerned. You must recall that our country was devastated by a dreadful war, a complete people's war which had a toll of about 50,000 dead. Many of our towns were destroyed by the war, such as Esteli, which was left with 6,000 out of 30,000 inhabitants. Thousands of families were without houses, or homes... All this has forced us to be very careful about our decisions relating to economic plans. So the revolutionary government has instructed that we obtain all the possible hard currency originating with our shrimp and lobster resources, and that we develop the catching of scaly species, with a view toward providing the people with a large amount of protein. I repeat, once we have succeeded in reactivating the present fish resources to the maximum extent, fishing will become a strong category, an even stronger one, in the national economy. We have now reactivated the fishing fleet about 55 percent. According to my calculations, in just a couple of months, 2 or 3, we shall have done so 80 percent, which will encourage large scale production.

MAR Y PESCA: Comrade Minister, to what extent do you think Cuba could participate; that is, cooperate with Nicaragua in its fishing development?

Coronel: We must start with the fact that Cuba is one of the countries that has made the greatest progress in fishing within the least amount of time; which is, of course, a result of the revolutionary efficiency. Furthermore, with the understandably different features, because we are two countries: one located in an island region and the other on the continent, there is an infinite number of things that bring us close together. Much of Cuba's fishing experience could help us to draw the proper conclusions. It could prove very useful to us; for example, in matters relating to the methods for lobster fishing, the tackle, the process and the manner of operating the fleets. In any event, we really appreciate the cooperation with Cuba, and we think that it will be useful for both countries.

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